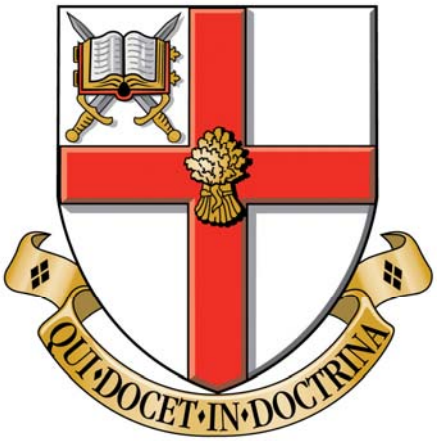

University of Chester

NORTHERN EUROPE

VERSUS ROME:

THE USE OF THE BODY

IN WARFARE

By Tom Pinfold

University of Chester – Masters Degree in Military History

(F10315)

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ABSTRACT

Throughout time military commanders have relied on a combination of 'shock and awe' to win battles, whether they were the massed cavalry charges of the early Medieval period, the huge columns of men used by Napoleon to punch through enemy formations with drums beating and chants of 'Vive l'Empereur', through to the German Blitzkrieg against Poland or France, even today many counter-terrorist units such as the British SAS equip themselves in black body armour and gas masks giving them an otherworldly appearance.

However, long before any of these, the Roman Legions and their Ancient British and Gallic adversaries were practicing body alteration on a grand scale, relying not only on physical strength but also 'shock and awe' to win battles. This dissertation is an investigation and a discussion of the techniques adopted and the motivations behind their adoption.

CONTENTS

LITERATURE REVIEW

It is of paramount importance to mention Classical texts because they are the best link the modern scholar has with the past. Archaeologists may provide some scientific proof to back these texts up but their interpretations have already been influenced by classical writers. Admittedly, a level of scepticism is required when dealing with sources with Roman bias but they are useful as a form of reference and especially if they tie into the archaeological record. There is no written evidence from Gallic or British Celtic sources regarding the Roman invasions. However, there are a number of written sources on the contact with Ancient Britain from the Roman perspective including but not limited to Julius Caesar, Tacitus and Cassius Dio. The general trend of these sources is themes of 'Rome versus Barbarians' and what constitutes civilization, and of course, the personal agendas of the writers themselves.

Vegetius wrote the *Epitome of Military Science*[1] including an excellent chapter on the training, manoeuvres and compilation of the ancient legion. Vegetius' sole focus was the Roman military and he was writing at a time when the Roman military was slipping thus at times his reverence for the 'ancient legion' is unabated.

Diodorus Siculus provides most of the early views of the Gauls or Celts. It is obvious through his writings that he studied the Celtic civilization but potentially there is a desire to emphasise the difference between the civilized Roman and Greek world and the uncivilized others.[2]

Of the other main contributors, there are descriptions of both the Gauls or Britons, and the Romans, which gives one an idea of how classical writers viewed both sides.

[1] N.P Milner (ed), *Vegetius – Epitome of Military Science* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2001).

[2] C.H. Oldfather (ed), *Diodorus Siculus* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1939).

Julius Caesar was recording his own personal glory when writing a commentary on his Gallic Wars and his battles with the Germans and his two invasions of Britain. Arguably information included in his writings put a positive spin on Caesar's achievements and do not necessarily reflect the realities of the Gallic Wars. Although there is some substance to this argument; the greater the foe the greater the achievement in beating him, however by the same token, if one's enemy is brave and warlike one would write this. Dio Cassius was part of the Roman elite writing about events centuries earlier. However he has attempted to provide a history of the Romans and so it is possible that when he wrote about Britain he put the importance of Britain in some kind of context. If Britain was not important why write so much about it. Livy wrote two very useful books for this dissertation. *The Early History of Rome*[3] and *Rome and Italy*[4] both provided information on Roman contact with the Gauls, but also life in Roman Italy and the founding of Rome and its evolution and the importance of Roman religion. Polybius, a Greek writer in Rome, and described by Cicero as 'an outstandingly reliable authority'[5] wrote about most aspects of the Roman state but provided some very detailed observations of the Roman military system which are referred to regularly in this dissertation.[6] His purpose as an outsider is to try to understand how Rome came to conquer other nations so successfully. Tacitus' influences revolve around his father-in-law's involvement in Britain. Agricola invaded modern-day Scotland and won a battle at Mons Graupius in AD83. It is highly likely that Tacitus was attempting to improve the image of his father-in-law by both honouring Agricola's performance and honouring the enemy that he fought.

[3] A. De Slincourt, *Livy - The Early History of Rome* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1960).

[4] B. Radice, *Livy – Romeand Italy* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1982).

[5] Cicero III, 31 in M. Grant, *Cicero – Selected Works* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1960), p.223

[6] I. Scott-Kilvert, *Polybius – The Rise of the Roman Republic* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1979), p.318-338

In relation to Classical writers in general, Mattingley asks the question: 'how [should] we read our source documents, given that they were primarily written from a distance by an alien elite, whose lives were bound to the maintenance of the Roman Empire… we should not expect critical objectivity.'[7] This statement is correct, however, one must keep an open mind. If one is analytical one can put one's own value on the source. The major gap in the research for this dissertation is that there are no written sources for the Gauls or Britons written by the Gauls and Britons.[8] Thus the written sources will undoubtedly have a bias towards the Romans.

The main focus of this dissertation will be the Ancient British and the Gauls due to the close ties between northern Gaul and southern Britain, as Caesar reported, British warriors fought against him in Gaul.[9] And, secondly, the Imperial Roman army, though there must be reference to the armies of the Republic which provided the model for the later Principate armies and through which the themes of body alteration can be traced. Such areas of interest have thus entailed an extensive amount of reading about the Celtic culture as a whole, and Iron Age Britain in particular; and on the formation and evolution of the Roman army, concentrating on archaeological evidence from Britain such as coins, tombstones and other artefacts. Breaking it down further, the study of the Ancient Britons will concentrate on their use of woad to alter and enhance the body and the dress and role of the Roman standard-bearers who without doubt formed the most striking element of the Roman army.

Although the references to the use of woad are frequent, there is very little in-depth analysis to its use and creation. However, Gillian Carr's paper '*Woad, Tattooing and Identity in Later Iron Age and*

[7] D. Mattingley, *An Imperial Possession – Britain in the Roman Empire* (London: Penguin Books, 2007), p.25.

[8] Archaeological discoveries provide some primary evidence for their views.

[9] Julius Caesar, Gallic War, III, 9 & IV,20 in H. J. Edwards, *Caesar – The Gallic War* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1917), p.147-51 & p,205

Early Roman Britain'[10] is an in-depth study of the creation of woad, the tools required for its creation and administration, and changes to the processes with Roman influence. There will be many references to this article in the first chapter, but it does not cover the influences that inspired the patterns and images that the Britons painted themselves with. In general, the use of woad seems to fall into the category of 'assumed knowledge' where authors can mention it in passing but never look at it in detail.

There are two prolific authors about the Celts; firstly Barry Cunliffe, who must be ranked as the British authority on Celtic peoples and the Iron Age in Britain. He has written over ten books and numerous articles on the British Iron Age, and the Celtic Iron Age in general, and secondly, Nora Chadwick, who has made comprehensive studies of the Celts.[11]

Although there has been extensive work on the Roman army, Adrian Goldsworthy stands out as an authority on the subject. His books *The Complete Roman Army*[12] and *Roman Warfare*[13] formed a useful understanding of the Roman army's creation and evolution from the Republican militia through to the professional force of the Empire. Though very useful as sources of reference, neither of the books really went into the inspirations for the choice of uniforms or shield iconography – another gap in the literature. However, Goldsworthy's descriptive writings about the Roman army proved very useful.

[10] G. Carr, 'Woad, Tattooing and Identity in Later Iron Age and Early Roman Britain', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 24(3) (2005) p. 273 - 292

[11] N. Chadwick, *Celtic Britain* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1967) & *The Celts* (Harmondsworth: Pelican Books, 1970).

[12] A. Goldsworthy, *The Complete Roman Army* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007).

[13] A. Goldsworthy, *Roman Warfare* (London: Phoenix, 2007).

An area of interest is Roman shield iconography and Stephen Dando-Collins' book *The Legions of Rome: The Definitive History of Every Imperial Roman Legion*[14] took thirty years to produce using literary and archaeological evidence and proved invaluable for displaying the shield iconography of the Imperial Legions. Jones' book *The Later Roman Empire*[15] deals with the later period of the Roman Empire with a comprehensive chapter on the Roman army.

To provide context for body alteration at a later historical point, Robert Jones' book *Bloodied Banners* provided some insightful observations on the psychological benefits of medieval armour for protection, identification and its psychological impact on the courage of the wearer.[16]

OTHER EVIDENCE - ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND MONUMENTAL

Classical texts provide a certain picture of the past but all Roman and Celtic involvement fortunately has a large amount of archaeological evidence as well, though again it must be emphasised that it is mostly Roman in origin, consequently there is a bias that must be acknowledged. Archaeology is also as flawed as the person who interprets it, however 'artefacts can make an important contribution to our understanding of how the body was perceived and presented in Roman Britain'[17] and elsewhere. One must be mindful of some possible limitations as de la Bedoyère points out 'military tombstones do not represent the whole army: legionaries and auxiliary cavalrymen always dominate, while

[14] S. Dando-Collins, *The Legions of Rome: The Definitive History of Every Imperial Legion* (London: Quercus, 2010).

[15] A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964).

[16] R.W. Jones, *Bloodied Banners – Martial Display on the Medieval Battlefield* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010).

[17] H. Eckardt, 'Roman' or 'Native' Bodies in Britain: The Evidence of Late Roman Nail-cleaner Strap-ends', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 25(1) (2006), p.83

auxiliary infantrymen are much more scarce.'[18] But the Roman period in Britain, with its well-published and rich data sets and wealth of contextual information, provides an excellent opportunity to explore the social and symbolic significance of artefacts.[19] Britain benefits from a huge amount of archaeological work covering the late Iron Age and Roman occupation periods. Yet one's understanding of the past can be affected by present-day influences as much as Victorian archaeologists were affected by their existence within the British Empire. Thus it is almost impossible to accurately relate what one sees now with events two thousand years ago but the aim of this dissertation is to provide 'possibilities' based on a range of Classical texts and what archaeology there is, with a mind to adapting and evolving these possibilities. The artefacts discussed in this dissertation are from a number of museums but of these the British Museum in London was extremely useful and Celtic artefacts form the basis of the argument for Chapter III.[20] In relation to this, Ian Fraser's book on every Pictish symbol stone in Scotland was invaluable for studying the depictions of animals in Celtic art.[21]

This dissertation will study the different types of body alteration and as a result attempt to provide the motivations for choice of alteration. There is very little literature on why ancient warriors decided to wear what they did, consequently this dissertation cannot provide facts but it can propose possibilities for motivation and inspiration for body alteration based upon Roman and Greek classical texts, and Roman and Celtic archaeological evidence such as gravestones and monumental architecture.

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[18] G. de la Bedoyère, *Eagles Over Britannia – The Roman Army in Britain* (Stroud: Tempus, 2001), p.156

[19] H. Eckardt, 'Roman' or 'Native' Bodies in Britain; The Evidence of Late Roman Nail-cleaner Strap-ends', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 25(1) (2006), p.91

[20] Celtic stonework, weaponry, artwork and skeletal remains.

[21] I. Fraser (ed), *The Pictish Symbol Stones of Scotland* (Edinburgh: RCAHMS, 2008).

INTRODUCTION

At this stage it would be useful to discuss the term Celt to establish some boundaries. Michael Morse believes 'the Celts were an Iron Age people, not necessarily a race, with Bronze Age roots, characterized by their language and art'[22] going on to say 'the Celts are, and always were, a creation of the human mind.'[23] Potentially it is better to categorize the Celts as a collection of tribal societies connected by a common language, art style and way of war that existed in Ancient Britain and Gaul.[24] Notably most classical writers change their descriptive terms for the ancient tribal societies so that in the same paragraph Gauls can be referred to as Gauls and Celts and likewise with the ancient Britons. One cannot class one society as more civilized than another, and whether Rome was a better civilization than the Celtic example is not important for this dissertation, what is important however is that they were both hierarchical societies with religious beliefs and a militaristic outlook. Where possible this dissertation will use the terms 'Ancient Briton' and 'Gaul' rather than 'Celt' but at times the word 'Celt' will be used to discuss Britons and Gauls as a group.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The Roman and the Celt are often viewed as two completely different entities, no more so than by Classical Roman writers themselves; Livy talked about 'savage Gauls and civilized Romans'[25] and the Roman Emperor Julian questioned:

'Tell me why it is that the Celts and the Germans are fierce, while the Romans are inclined to political life and humane, though at the same time unyielding and warlike?'[26]

[22] M.A. Morse, *How the Celts Came to Britain* (Stroud: Tempus, 2005), p.151

[23] M.A. Morse, *How the Celts Came to Britain* (Stroud: Tempus, 2005), p.185

[24] Celtic influence could stretch from Portugal to Russia.

[25] Livy, V, 36 in A. de Sèlincourt, *Livy* (Harmondsworth: Pelican Books, 1960), p.365

However the martial co-existence of Gaul and Roman was an ongoing phenomenon over centuries and at one stage the Gauls proved to be Rome's greatest adversaries. Polybius argues that 'the trials of strength they had already experienced with the Celts had made the Romans veritable champions in war.'[27] But as this dissertation progresses, the evidence will show how similar in certain aspects Celt and Roman actually were. After all, the idea that 'frontiers suggest perceived cultural backwardness'[28] is from the Roman point of view, and not necessarily the case. They had a long-shared history of conflict, with the Gauls sacking Rome in 390BC which had little long-term effect on the city's growth, but left a deep scar on the Roman psyche,[29] and it was from this 'humiliation the Romans developed a fear and loathing of the Celts.' [30] Polybius noted 'the age-old terror inspired by the Gauls had never been altogether dispelled'[31] and Livy recalling 'they were in great terror of the Gauls through the recollection of their earlier defeat.'[32] When the victorious Gallic chief Brennus, at the scene of Rome's payoff to the Gauls for the city's survival in 390BC chanted 'woe to the Vanquished' to the surviving Romans, Livy described his words as intolerable to Roman ears[33] and he goes on to say how the Roman Dictator Camillus addresses his troops before the next battle with the

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[26] The Emperor Julian in W.C. Wright, *Works of the Emperor Julian III* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1923), p.347 & in Diodorus Siculus V, 21 in C. H. Oldfather (ed), *Diordorus Siculus* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1939), p.153-157

[27] Polybius I, 6 in I. Scott-Kilvert, *Polybius – The Rise of the Roman Empire* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1979), p.47

[28] N. Purcell in Blagg, T & Millet, M (eds), *The Early Roman Empire in the West* (Oxford: Oxbow, 2002), p.11

[29] A. Goldsworthy, *Roman Warfare* (London: Phoenix, 2007), p.40 - Later tradition claimed that a band of defenders had held out on the Capitol, managing to repulse a night attack when they were woken by the cackling of the geese kept in Juno's Temple – Vegetius commented 'marvellous was the watchfulness of good fortune, whereby one bird saved the men destined to send the whole world under yoke' – Vegetius III, 26 in N.P. Milner (ed), *Vegetius: Epitome of Military Science* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2001), p.137.

[30] S. Allen, *Lords of Battle – The World of the Celtic Warrior* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2007), p.6

[31] Polybius II, 23 in I. Scott-Kilvert, *Polybius – The Rise of the Roman Empire* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1979), p.134

[32] Livy VI, 42.8 in B. Radice, *Livy – Rome and Italy* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1982), p.95

[33] Livy, V, 49 in A. de Sèlincourt, *Livy* (Harmondsworth: Pelican Books, 1960), p.379

Gauls saying 'it is your duty to recover your country not by gold but by the sword.'[34]Arguably what some see as an extermination of the Celtic way of life by the Romans was actually part of a continuous power-struggle over three and a half centuries.[35] But by the time of the Roman occupation of Britain 'the Roman army [was] at the height of its achievement, major attacks would have been dealt with in the field, good communications and intelligence ensuring that adequate forces were assembled in good time.'[36]

According to Allen; to his Roman adversaries the Celtic warrior was the archetypal barbarian: huge in stature, immensely strong and bloodthirsty beyond description, charging naked into battle, impervious to wounds and wielding a terrible sword with which to take the heads of his enemies, he was the antithesis of the drilled and disciplined soldiers of the Roman cohort.[37] This narrow-minded view is mainly based on the views of Diodorus Siculus, who discusses how they 'are wont to advance in front of the line of battle and challenge the bravest of their opponents to single combat…. When someone accepts the challenge, they recite the heroic deeds of their ancestors and proclaim their own valour, at the same time abusing and belittling their opponent in an attempt to rob him of his fighting spirit.'[38] And Livy describes a dual between an enormous Gaul and a Roman for the possession of a bridge while the two opposing armies looked on. Livy emphasises the difference between Gaul and Roman thus; 'one was remarkable for his stature, resplendent in multi-coloured clothing and painted armour inlaid with gold; the other had a moderate physique for a soldier, and was nothing special to look at, with armour that was suitable rather than ornate. He did not sing out war-cries, or dance about with useless brandishing of weapons, but his breast swelled with courage

[34] Livy, V, 49 in A. de Sèlincourt, *Livy* (Harmondsworth: Pelican Books, 1960), p.379

[35] Appian discusses this in H. White, *Appian's Roman History I* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1912), p.99

[36] P. Bidwell, *Roman Forts in Britain* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1997), p.44

[37] S. Allen, *Lords of Battle – The World of the Celtic Warrior* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2007), p.3

[38] Diodorus Siculus V, 29 in C.H. Oldfather (ed), *Diodorus Siculus* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1939), p.173

and silent anger; all his ferocity was held back for the critical moment of the duel.' [39] This might represent the change in view of the Romans towards the Gauls. No longer are they intimidated by them as they have become accustomed to victory through superior discipline. Dio would appear to promote this view initially, describing the Battle of Watling Street between Boudicca and the Romans he states '[Paulinus, the Roman Commander] disposed his army in three divisions so as to fight on several fronts at once, and had each of the divisions maintain close ranks so as to be difficult to penetrate'[40], 'thereupon the two sides closed on one another: the natives with much shouting and threatening war songs, the Romans in silence and order until they came within javelin range.'[41] It is important to recognize that Dio is providing his audience with a stark contrast: the stoic silent Roman facing the loud, barbarous Briton. Tacitus also stated 'the Romans disregard the clamour and empty threats of the natives. Only let them keep their close order, and once they had discharged their javelins, carry on felling and slaughtering the enemy with their shield bosses and swords.'[42] These observations are confirmed by the Roman military theorist Vegetius who states 'a small force which is highly trained in the conflicts of war is more apt to victory: a raw and untrained horde is always exposed to slaughter.'[43] Yet these views must be counted as opinion, further reading shows how both Romans and Greeks noted the Gallic and Ancient British ability to fight tactically. Polybius describes how the Celts had posted the Alpine tribe of the Gaesate to face the rear, the direction from which they expected Paullus to attack, and behind them the Insubres; on their front, to meet the attack of Atilius' legions, they had stationed the Taurisci and the Boii. The Celtic order of battle

[39] Livy VII, 9 in B. Radice, *Livy – Rome and Italy* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics,1982), p.107-109

[40] Dio Cassius, Epitome, LX11, 8, in E. Cary (ed), *Dio's Roman History* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1968), p.95-96

[41] Dio Cassius, Epitome, LXII, 12 in E. Cary (ed), *Dio's Roman History* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1968), p.103

[42] Tacitus, Annals, XIV, 36 in C. H. Moore, *Tacitus Annals* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1966), p.167

[43] Vegetius I, 1 in N. Milner (ed), *Vegetius: Epitome of Military Science* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2001), p.3

which faced both ways was not only awe-inspiring to see but was well-suited to the needs of the situation.[44] Livy himself applies a Roman tactic to the Gauls saying how the Gauls stood close-packed with their shields overlapping in front of them in a '*testudo*'.[45]

This was not a clash of civilizations but conflict based upon material wealth, territorial gain and extending influence. The Romans and Celts fought each other countless times over the centuries, but as Tacitus noted in his review of the tribes of Gaul and Britain 'they fight individually and are collectively defeated.'[46] Those supposedly different civilizations were alike in many ways as this dissertation will prove. McNab's claim that 'the Roman conquest of Gaul was a clash between two cultures employing very different methods of waging war'[47] is only half right; the methods of conducting war were variable, Rome favoured the well-drilled professional force able to carry out various manoeuvres under pressure and in the middle of combat, as Salway claims 'legionary tactics were based on in-fighting, with closely packed disciplined ranks, where the stabbing sword was more effective than the long slashing weapon used by the Celts.'[48] Which initially Dio attributes to the Britons as well, using Paulinus as a voice he says 'their [the Britons'] boldness is the product of a recklessness bolstered by neither arms nor training.'[49] Though in 390 BC Roman discipline had not been enough; the Roman army sent to stop the Gauls on their approach to Rome was defeated by good generalship with Livy noting that 'the main body of the [Roman] army, at the first sound of the Gallic war cry on their flank and in their rear, hardly waited to see this strange enemy from the ends

[44] Polybius II, 28 in I. Scott-Kilvert, *Polybius – The Rise of the Roman Empire* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1979), p.139

[45] '*Testudo*' = 'tortoise' - Livy X, 29.6 in B. Radice, *Livy –Rome and Italy* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1982), p.329

[46] Tacitus, Agricola, XII in H. Mattingly, *Tacitus On Britain and Germany* (London: Penguin Classics, 1948),p.62

[47] C. McNab (ed), *The Roman Army – The Greatest War Machine of the Ancient World* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2010), p.97

[48] P. Salway, *The Oxford Illustrated History of Roman Britain* (London: BCA, 1993), p.57

[49] Dio Cassius, Epitome, LXII, 9 in E. Cary, *Dio's Roman History* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1968), p.97

of the earth.'[50] Far from being a barbarian society whose way of war was primitive 'the Celts displayed an elaborate understanding of military technology, coloured by their rules of their own society, they emphasised personal bravery, intimidation, bravado, and ferocity over all other warlike virtues.'[51] They would fight in unison with those of their tribe forming organized battle-lines as recorded by Diodorus Siculus: 'they march into battle with even step and raise a battle-song as they charge upon their foe'[52] and Dio when mentioning that 'Boudicca rode in a chariot herself and arranged the others in their various positions.'[53] Cunliffe indicates the Britons were not tactically inept: 'the Romans found the flexibility of British fighting methods difficult to contend with. The natives never fought in close order but in scattered groups. They kept back numbers of reserves concentrated at intervals, who could cover the retreat of their comrades and provide fresh troops to take over when required. To a Roman, trained in ordered close-formation fighting, all this was very unnerving.'[54] Evidently they were adept at fighting an asymmetric guerrilla-type war as Dio attributes to Boudicca: 'this land is familiar to us and our ally, but to them it is unknown and hostile.'[55] Dio also states that 'even when the [Britons] did assemble they did not engage the Romans, but took refuge in the marshes and woods hoping to wear them out by these tactics.'[56] The Romans themselves used the Celtic ability to act as light-troops to full effect when fighting in Britain; 'Plautius sent across some Celts [auxiliaries] who were practiced in swimming with ease. These fell

[50] Livy, V, 38 in A. De Sèlincourt, *Livy – The Early History of Rome* (Harmondsworth: Pelican Books, 1960), p.368

[51] A. Konstam, *Historical Atlas of the Celtic World* (London: Mercury Books, 2003), p.109

[52] Diodorus Siculus V, 34 in C.H. Oldfather (ed), *Diodorus Siculus* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1939), p.191 & Livy noted how the Gauls 'had locked shields and advanced to attack the Capitol' in Livy, V, 44 in A. De Sèlincourt, *Livy – The Early history of Rome* (Harmondsworth: Pelican Books, 1960), p.373

[53] Dio Cassius, Epitome, LXII, 8 in E. Cary (ed), *Dio's Roman History* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1968), p.95-96

[54] B. Cunliffe, *Iron Age Britain* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1995), p.90

[55] Dio Cassius, Epitome, LXII, 5 in E. Cary (ed), *Dio's Roman History* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1968), p.91

[56] Dio Cassius LX, 19 in E. Cary (ed), *Dio's Roman History* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1968), p.119

unexpectedly on the enemy, but rather than attacking the men they maimed the horses that drew their chariots instead.'[57]

The following passage from Dio describes the chaos of an Ancient battle and the manoeuvring required: 'the struggle took many forms: light-armed troops exchanged missiles with other light-armed forces; heavy-armed troops were matched against heavy-armed; cavalry engaged cavalry, and Roman archers clashed with native chariots. The natives would swoop upon the Romans with their chariots, throwing them into confusion, and then be themselves repulsed by the arrows, since they fought without breastplates. Horsemen would ride down infantrymen, and infantrymen strike down cavalrymen. One group of Romans in close formation would advance on the chariots; another group would be scattered by them. Some of the Britons would close on the archers and put them to flight; other kept out of their way at a distance, and all this was going on not just in one spot but in three places at once.'[58] The evidence suggests that the Celts did not always put store in one big charge but recognized, even in the heat of battle that counter-attacks and sorties were necessary. One Roman saw it differently; when describing the difference between Roman and northern European, Vegetius stated:

'They tell us that all peoples that are near the sun, being parched by great heat, are more intelligent but have less blood, and therefore lack steadiness and confidence to fight at close quarters, because those that are conscious of having less blood are afraid of wounds. On the other hand the peoples of the north, remote from the sun's heat, are less intelligent, but having a superabundance of blood are readiest for wars.'[59]

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[57] Dio Cassius LX, 20 in E. Cary (ed), *Dio's Roman History* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1968), p.121

[58] Dio Cassius, Epitome, LXII, 12 in E. Cary (ed), *Dio's Roman History* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1968), p.83

[59] Vegetius I, 2 in N.P. Milner (ed), *Vegetius: Epitome of Military Science* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2001), p.3

This classical observation is proof that the Romans viewed Gauls and Britons in certain ways, it was definitely not flattering, intimating that the Romans were more intelligent and all the northern Europeans could do was fight. Interestingly Vegetius reports that the Romans were not suited at close-quarters, an area of combat that they excelled at, because they were too intelligent, whereas the northern Celts may not be clever but due to more blood (potentially based on the Celts' larger form) were better at close-quarters fighting. This is surely another Roman sleight at the 'barbarian' rather than factual observation. Cato the Elder himself adopted barbarian tactics reporting 'he would greet the enemy with a harsh and menacing war-cry, for he rightly believed and often reminded others that such an appearance often frightens the enemy even more than cold steel.'[60]

All three chapters will show the differences between Romans and Celts but also emphasise the similarities in thought and practice. This dissertation will take three parts; firstly it will discuss the topics of intimidation and identification. The examples used demonstrate a desire to induce fear in an enemy, it is all about increasing masculinity and improving oneself; and during the melee of ancient battle fields, identification was of great importance. Though it would be easy to separate the heavily armoured legionary from the near naked Celt, in terms of reforming battle formations on both sides it would be of great importance, the Romans using shield emblems and standards, the British and Gauls using woad decoration, tattoos and their own standards.

Secondly it will study religion and superstition. So important was religion in ancient times that it played a central part in everyday life and thus as inspiration and motivation it could dictate actions and thought processes across a wide range of areas including warfare. Caesar himself observed that 'the Gallic nation as a whole is very much devoted to religion. For the dangers of battle they either offer or promise to offer human sacrifice, and they employ Druids to act for them in this.'[61] And

[60] Plutarch IV in I. Scott-Kilvert, *Plutarch – The Makers of Rome* (London: Penguin Group, 1965), p.120

[61] Julius Caesar, Gallic War VI, 16 in H.J. Edwards, *Caesar – The Gallic War* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1917), p.254

Tacitus when assigning a speech to Boudicca says that she cried out 'the gods were on the side of just revenge.'[62]

Chapter III will look at mythology and animal and bird iconography. This reverence was based on respect, totemic value, and an inner spiritual belief developed from the reverence with which some animals were held in the ancient world. Caesar noted that 'the Britons have a taboo against eating hare, chicken, and goose, but they rear them for amusement and pleasure.'[63] And Herodian's claim that 'they tattoo their bodies with various designs and pictures of all kinds of animals,'[64] suggests that animals were important. Dio goes on to note that Boudicca 'having made her speech, engaged in a type of divination by releasing a hare from the fold in her tunic, and since it ran on what was for them the lucky side, the whole mass of people shouted for joy.'[65] Though it might seem hard to fathom today, these ideas formed part of Celtic and Roman culture and society. However, it would be impossible to write a dissertation on these subjects and have clear cut chapters, so there will be an amount of cross-referencing.

[62] Tacitus, Annals XIV, 35 in C.H. Moore, *Tacitus Annals* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1966), p.165

[63] Julius Caesar, Gallic War V, 12 in H.J. Edwards, *Caesar – The Gallic War* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1917), p.248-251

[64] Herodian III, 14, 6-8 in C.R. Whitaker, *Herodian* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1969) p.359

[65] Dio Cassius, Epitome, LXII, 6 in E. Cary (ed), *Dio's Roman History* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1968), p.91-93

CHAPTER I

Intimidation and Identification

BRITONS AND WOAD

One of the major problems with a study of this kind is separating fact from fiction. The use of woad, the blue war paint used by Ancient Britons is a divisive subject with an extensive amount of misinformation written, and projected in pictures and films. One must use the classical texts because 'if it were not for these accounts we would have little idea that the native Britons practised body painting at all: theirs is the only 'true' evidence we have.'[66]Stephanie Moser comments 'whether historians and archaeologists like it not, many people's beliefs about life in the past derive from popular illustrations.'[67] Moser uses the example of the '*Pictish man holding human head*' by John White, painted in the 16th Century. The influences on White as he painted were substantial; he sailed with Walter Raleigh to the Americas encountering native peoples and some of the practices they performed such as tattooing; as an educated man he would have known of Classical descriptions of Ancient Britons and his character's long hair and moustache derive from contemporary European traditions of the 'wild Irish.'[68]

There is no evidence that the Ancient Britons practiced whole-body tattooing though it is believed

[66] G. Carr, 'Woad, Tattooing and Identity in Later Iron Age and Early Roman Britain', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 24(3) (2005) p.278

[67] S. Moser, 'Seeing the Past in Standard Images', *British Archaeology,* Vol 39 (Nov 1998), p.10

[68] S. Moser, 'Seeing the Past in Standard Images', *British Archaeology,* Vol 39 (Nov 1998), p.10

that as late as the mid-Iron Age they used a woad vat for whole body immersion.[69] The scimitar was not a weapon that would have been used by Ancient Britons however the neck torc, the severed head and the martial nudity can all be traced to Classical accounts and archaeology, and there are areas where the classical text and modern knowledge overlap. Carr states that 'it should be noted that hair removal is necessary for tattooing, no matter which part of the body is tattooed. Hairs can divert a needle from its path or interfere with the flow of ink,'[70] and Julius Caesar observed that the Ancient Britons 'shave all their bodies with the exception of their heads and upper lip.'[71] One might assume that the shaving of the male torso was a result of woad application and it must be considered that later on; 'grooming was not an exclusively female practice in Roman Britain [this] can be demonstrated by a burial [at] Maiden Castle of a robust adult male, buried with an axe and an ear-scoop.'[72] Though not conclusive there is a pattern emerging: those most likely to use woad would be the warrior elite, men that would be interred in such burials as Maiden Castle, where evidence of grooming utensils has been discovered, in battle they would be at the fore, in full view of Caesar displaying themselves both groomed and painted.

An area of contention is what form woad application took. Gillian Carr proposes an evolution from full body application to selected patterns,[73] where as we know from Classical writers that it could be as specific as images of animals for instance Herodian[74] or Solinus who comments on Britain:

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[69] G.Carr, 'Woad, Tattooing and Identity in Later Iron Age and Early Roman Britain', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 24(3) (2005), p.277

[70] G. Carr, 'Woad, Tattooing and Identity in Later Iron Age and Early Roman Britain', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 24(3) (2005),', p.282.

[71] Julius Caesar, Gallic War V, 14 in H.J Edwards, *Caesar – The Gallic War* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1917), p.253

[72] H. Eckardt, 'Roman' or 'Native' Bodies in Britain; The Evidence of Late Roman Nail-cleaner Strap-ends', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 25(1) (2006), p.95

[73] G. Carr, 'Woad, Tattooing and Identity in Later Iron Age and Early Roman Britain', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 24(3) (2005),', p.283

'The land is occupied partly by barbarians who from childhood have the pictures of various animals put on their bodies by tattoo artists.'[75]

The full body approach is interesting and there are Classical texts backing-up this suggestion;

'All the Britons actually stain themselves with woad, which affects a blue colour, and for this reason they appear more horrifying in battle.'[76]

The use of the word stain rather paint or decorate implies a larger, less-delicate application of woad, similar to the Norse Beserkers that wore nothing but red paint to look terrifying in battle.[77] The staining of an individual could also suggest a dehumanising factor , something that Jones and Bourke believe allow a warrior to kill more easily both because they feel less human and their enemy becomes less human.[78] Obviously though, painted or tattooed images have the capacity to convey more information about the wearer's identity than all-over body staining for certain ritual, social or martial occasions.[79] No British or Gallic archaeology has survived but Plutarch discusses the ideas of two types of Scythians, Asian Scythians and Celto-Scythians[80] and an archaeological discovery in

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[74] Herodian III, 14, 6-8 in C.R. Whitaker, *Herodian* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1969), p.359

[75] Solinus 22, 20 (writing in the 3rd Century) from S. Ireland, *Roman Britain Sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 1998), p.25

[76] Julius Caesar, *Gallic War* V, 14 in H.J Edwards, *Caesar – The Gallic War* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1917), p.253

[77] H. Bleckwenn in I.T. Schick, *Battledress – The Uniforms of the World's Great Armies* (London: Artus Books, 1993), p.34

[78] R.W. Jones, *Bloodied Banners – Martial Display on the Medieval Battlefield* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), p.110 & J. Bourke, *An Intimate Histroy of Killing – Face-to-face Killing in the Twentieth Century* (London: Granta Books, 1999), p.231-32

[79] G. Carr, 'Woad, Tattooing and Identity in Later Iron Age and Roman Britain', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 24(3) (2005), p. 284

[80] Plutarch '*Gaius Marius'* in I. Scott-Kilvert, *Plutarch – The Makers of Rome* (London: Penguin Group, 1965), p.23 & Arrian also refers to 'European Scythians' in Arrian, 7, 15 in A. De Sèlincourt, *Arrian – The Campaigns of Alexander* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1958), p.374

Siberia in 1948 confirmed the possible existence of Scythian tattoos when a Russian archaeologist uncovered the frozen and well-preserved body of a Scythian chieftain, and there are an array of animal images used.

Herodotus testified that the Scythians wore tattoos as a sign of their nobility, a Scythian without tattoos showed that he was of low station.[81] One can ascertain that Celto-Scythians put a hierarchical and spiritual emphasis on tattoos and that animals were important enough to be used in body art, this could imply that more centrally-located Celts did likewise.

WOAD AS A MAGICAL SUBSTANCE

On first emerging from the woad vat, the person would be a dirty brown colour because of the contents of the mixture…. they would turn blue after re-oxidization, which took a few minutes. The spontaneous change of colour could have appeared to be a magical process to the superstitious Britons and Gauls.[82] Woad is imbued with certain natural substances and indeed the process with which it turns from the brown smear on a man's body to blue artwork could have misled the Iron Age Celts into believing that it was a magical substance. The study of which substances were used as binding agents also provides an ulterior area of interest. For instance, 'a binding agent like fat is an important consideration if the Britons, like the Gauls, went into battle naked, as recorded by Diodorus Siculus.'[83] This would have kept them insulated against the cold.[84] Feeling the cold might

[81] Herodotus, V, 3 in A. De Sèlincourt, *Herodotus – The Histories* (London: Penguin Classics, 1954), p.342

[82] Pomponius Mela, De Chorographia III, 2, 18-19. Mela discusses the superstitious and savage Gauls in S. Ireland, *Roman Britain Sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 1998).

[83] Diodorus Siculus V, 29-30 in C.H. Oldfather (ed), *Diodorus Siculus* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1939), p.173-175

[84] G. Carr, *'Woad, Tattooing and Identity* in Later Iron Age and Roman Britain'*, Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 24(3) (2005), p.276

not be something one relates to a Celtic warrior but if that warrior walked onto the battlefield and could not even feel the wind because of the insulation then possibly that would add to his feeling of invulnerability. A second area of interest is 'how male fertility and virility were also bound up in body painting and tattooing.'[85] Though speculative the process of grinding up the woad with a pestle and mortar, a potential binding agent being 'semen,'[86] the phallic nature of the cosmetic grinder used for woad application and the possibility of some designs being of a phallic nature, horned animals for example, suggest a close relation between woad and sexual masculinity.

PROPERTIES OF WOAD

Woad has two properties that make it extremely beneficial to the Iron Age British warrior. Firstly, it is a natural antiseptic and secondly it is a natural painkiller, Carr says 'woad has anti-bacterial properties and can also be used to staunch bleeding. Anecdotal evidence suggests that it also has soothing properties. To wear it in battle would ensure that any wounds received would be less likely to turn septic and would be less painful.' [87] There is precedence for these thoughts as Diodorus Siculus observed that Celts used urine to wash and also to clean wounds because it heals the body.[88] The evidence would suggest that there is a lot more to woad than altering the body's appearance. There may have been a ritualistic element to tattooing and Campbell speculates that the tattoos might have been seen as magical protection.[89] If tattooing or woading took place before battle, then

[85] G. Carr, *'Woad, Tattooing and Identity* in Later Iron Age and Roman Britain'*, Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 24(3) (2005)*,* p.286

[86] G. Carr, *'Woad, Tattooing and Identity* in Later Iron Age and Roman Britain'*, Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 24(3) (2005)*,* p.276

[87] G. Carr, 'Woad, Tattooing and Identity in Later Iron Age and Roman Britain'*, Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 24(3) (2005), p.279

[88] Diodorus Siculus V, 33 in C.H Oldfather (ed), *Diodorus Siculus* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1939), p.187

[89] D. B. Campbell, *Mons Graupius AD 83* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2010), p.28

the idea that 'each man swore by the gods of his tribe that he would give way to neither weapons nor wounds'[90] going into battle suggests a ritual and potentially, an altered sense of reality. Though there are many references to tattoos, their purpose is not clear. In the 1st Century Pomponius Mela commented, 'they dye their bodies with woad – whether for decoration or some other reason is unknown.'[91] But if the British Celts felt empowered by its application then it is reasonable to suspect that it contributed greatly to their bravery. If these applications took place in groups then a large degree of the male bonding might be experienced by 'these wild tribes of Britons with their tattooed backs.'[92]

PROCESS

The earliest archaeological appearance of woad in Britain is at the Dragonby excavation, South Humberside, from an Iron Age pit, dated to 1st Century BC through to 1st Century AD, the find consisted of remnants of the plant from which woad is extracted and tools for its application. But tattooing continued in the furthest regions of Britain, Claudian writing on the latter stages of the Roman Empire mentions a legion sent north to 'guard the Britons, the legion that curbs the savage Scot and scans the lifeless patterns tattooed on dying Picts.'[93]

And when discussing the Roman Triumph Payne discusses the recipient of the Triumph, the *triumphator* and how he had to paint his face red, whether to look more war-like, or to resemble the

[90] Tacitus, Annals XII, 34 in R.M. Ogilvie, *Agricola* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1976), p.89

[91] Pomponius Mela, *De Chorographia III, 6, 51* in S. Ireland, *Roman Britain Sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 1998), p.24

[92] Oppian, Cynegetica I, 468-80, in A.W. Mair, *Oppian Collutus Tryphiodorus* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1928), p.49

[93] Claudian, Gothic War, 416-18 in S. Ireland, *Roman Britain Sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 1998), p.161

great god in the temple is unknown and all references are from late sources.[94] However it is possible that some influence of woad application impacted on the Roman psyche at home.

PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE

An example of the psychological effect the Britons could have on the Romans was seen during Paulinus' campaign against the Druids. The seat of Druidical power was the island of Mona (Anglesey), an island of forests, religious places and altars. According to Allen 'the most important ceremonies took place within sacred groves of oak trees called *drunemeton*, while rivers, lakes and bogs across Europe have revealed ritual objects ranging from weapons and jewellery to animal and human sacrifices.'[95] And it was here where Celtic religion and Roman came into direct contact in 59-60 AD; Tacitus describes the attack on the Druids in Mona:

'On the opposite shore stood the Britons, close embodied, and prepared for action. Women were seen running through the ranks in wild disorder; their apparel funereal; their hair loose to the wind, in their hands flaming torches, and their whole appearance resembling the frantic rage of the Furies. The Druids were ranged in order, with hands uplifted, invoking the gods, and pouring forth horrible imprecations. The novelty of the fight struck Romans with awe and terror.' [96]

The Roman soldiers had much experience of fighting the Gauls and Britons by this stage, but the appearance of these wild women led to the use of the phrase 'awe and terror', a predecessor perhaps to the phrase 'shock and awe.' It is likely that it was 'the 'Furies' that really frightened the Roman troops, 'in classical legend the Furies were, like the homicidal devotees of Bacchus, [and]

[94] R. Payne, *The Roman Triumph* (London: Pan Books Ltd, 1962), p.12

[95] S. Allen, *Lords of Battle – The World of the Celtic Warrior* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing Ltd, 2007), p.18

[96] Tacitus, Annals, Book XIV, 30 in C.H. Moore, *Tacitus Annals* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1966), p.153

only too familiar.'[97] There is a precedence for Roman fear in these situations, Livy talks of the Romans being intimidated in 390BC as 'the air was loud with the dreadful din of the fierce war-songs and discordant shouts of a people whose very life [wa]s wild adventure.'[98] And the Celts were already practicing other forms of psychology to woad decoration and screaming women. Diodorus Siculus explains:

'[The Celts] wear bronze helmets with figures picked out on them, even horns, which make them look even taller than they already are...while others cover themselves with breast-armour made out of chains. Weird, discordant horns are sounded; they shout in chorus with their deep and harsh voices, they beat their swords rhythmically against their shields.'[99]

Jones states that Medieval armour 'served to make the warrior appear more physically imposing because they are the very traits which we use to assess the strength, masculinity and dominance of an individual, and which transmit signals about an individual's health and sexual maturity.'[100] Once again the effect of body alteration is twofold, it affects both the warrior altering his body and the warrior facing him.

The war horn was the Carnyx, a form of trumpet with a boar's head as a figurehead[101] and the emphasis for the Celts seems to be on projected power through physical size, noise and the abnormal Carnyx sound. Fields surmises that 'the appearance of the individual, his size, expressions and demoniacal war cries, added to the din of clashing weapons and the harsh braying of the carnyx,

[97] P. Salway, *The Oxford Illustrated History of Roman Britain* (London: BCA, 1993), p.481

[98] Livy, V, 38 in A. De Sèlincourt, *Livy* (Harmondsworth: Pelican Books, 1960), p.367

[99] Diodorus Siculus V, 30 in C.H. Oldfather (ed), *Diodorus Siculus* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1939), p.177

[100] R.W. Jones, *Bloodied Banners – Martial Display on the Medieval Battlefield* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), p.99

[101] These will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Three.

were clearly intended to intimidate the enemy before actually reaching them.'[102] And according to Dio the Celts also had another noise generator useful for psychological warfare:

'Their weapons consist of a shield and short spear with a bronze 'apple' at the end of the shaft which is designed to make a loud noise when shaken and thus terrify the enemy.'[103]

It is clear the Celts did not view warfare as the clash of arms alone and that despite the emphasis on heroic deeds, warfare was part of something societal, ten thousand men beating their shields and screaming was far more intimidating than one man.

RITUAL NUDITY

A major aspect of Celtic warfare was nudity on the battlefield. The Gaesatae 'believed that they would be better equipped for action in this state, as the ground was in places overgrown with brambles and these might catch their clothes and hamper them in their use of their weapons.'[104] And Herodian noted that Britons 'for the most part are naked and think nothing of getting mud on themselves.'[105]

However, there is definitely a psychological aspect as far as the Romans were concerned, Polybius observed:

'The Romans [were] dismayed by the splendid array of the Celtic host and the ear-splitting din which they created. There were countless horns and trumpets being blown simultaneously in their ranks,

[102] N. Fields, *Boudicca's Rebellion AD 60-61* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing Ltd, 2011), p.25

[103] Dio Cassius LXXVI, 12, 1-5 in E. Cary (ed), *Dio's Roman History* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1968), p.83-91

[104] Polybius II, 28 in I. Scott-Kilvert, *Polybius – The Rise of the Roman Empire* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1979), p.139

[105] Herodian III, 14, 6-8 in C.R. Whitaker, *Herodian* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1969), p.359

and as the whole army was shouting its war-cries, there arose such a babble of sound that it seemed to come not only from the trumpets and the soldiers but from the whole surrounding countryside at once. Very terrifying too were the gestures of the naked warriors in front, all in the prime of life and finely built men, and all in the leading companies richly adorned with gold torcs and armlets. The aspect and movements of the naked warriors made a terrifying spectacle.'[106]

And Vegetius:

'Because of the excessive size of their bodies our shortness has usually been a subject of contempt for all the Gauls.'[107]

It appears that Celtic nudity was as much about overt masculinity as practicality in battle. The musculature of the Celts was described as the 'armour nature had given them' by Diodorus Siculus.[108] The Celts were displaying their personal attributes such as musculature in a bid to overawe their enemies. Romans were evidently uneasy when lined up against large numbers of muscular Celtic warriors who fought partially or completely naked. It is obvious that the Celts had an active lifestyle; either farming, hunting or fighting, and a reason for there large musculature seems to be that lifestyle combined with their diet which would have contained a lot of protein from the hunting[109] and fishing and milk-drinking[110] and carbohydrates from the wheat and corn they were

[106] Polybius, II, 29 in I. Scott-Kilvert, *Polybius – The Rise of the Roman Empire* (Harmondsworth:Penguin Classics, 1979), p.140

[107] Vegetius I, 1 in N.P Milner (ed), Vegetius: *Epitome of Military Science* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2001), p.2

[108] Diodorus Siculus V, 30 in C.H. Oldfather (ed), *Diodorus Siculus* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1939), p.177

[109] See J. Alcock, *Life in Roman Britain* (London: B.T Batsford, 1996), p.55-56

[110] Julius Caesar Gallic War V, 14 in H.J. Edwards, *Caesar – The Gallic War* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1917), p.253

growing[111] thus resulting in an extremely balanced diet. A Gaesatae[112] would at 'the very least, have dedicated himself [his nudity] to his fellow Gaesatae and very likely to a god of war, for example Camulos in Britain and Gaul.'[113] With the result that being naked on the battlefield became more than about the body, it also became about a ritual purpose, 'protected and empowered by divine forces, the warrior displays his strength and perhaps his personal wealth also, and has no need for either armour or clothing.'[114] But classical writers have observed how warriors did not hang around when the battle did not go their way, as Tacitus remarked on the Gauls and Britons 'they show the same boldness in courting danger, and, when danger looms, the same panic in avoiding it'.[115] And Polybius noted as the battle commenced:

' The Roman javelin-throwers advanced and began to hurl their weapons thick and fast, the cloaks and trousers of the Celts in their rear ranks gave some effective protection, but for the naked warriors in front the situation was very different. They had not foreseen this tactic and found themselves in a difficult and helpless situation.'[116]

Herodian's comment that the Britons are mostly naked and think nothing of getting mud on themselves appears contemptuous and Dio's description of the fall of Colchester indicates that the act of stripping the noblest Roman women before mutilating them was an act of unnecessary degradation:

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[111] Diodorus Siculus V, 21, 3-6 in C.H. Oldfather (ed), *Diodorus Siculus* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1939), p.153-157

[112] Gaulish mercenary warriors that fought against the Greeks and Romans – see Polybius II, 28 in I. Scott-Kilvert, *Polybius – The Rise of the Roman Empire* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1979), p.139.

[113] S. Allen, *Lords of Battle – The World of the Celtic Warrior* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing Ltd, 2007), p.27

[114] S. Allen, *Lords of Battle – The World of the Celtic Warrior* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing Ltd, 2007), p.27

[115] Tacitus, Agricola XI in H. Mattingley, *Tacitus On Britain and Germany* (London: Penguin Classics, 1948), p.61

[116] Polybius II, 30 in I. Scott-Kilvert, *Polybius – The Rise of the Roman Empire* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1979), p.140

'Those who were taken prisoner by the Britons underwent every possible outrage; the most atrocious and bestial committed was this: they hung up naked the noblest and most beautiful women, cut off their breasts and sewed them into their mouths so they appeared to be eating them.'[117]

Constantius also had contempt for naked warriors, he proclaimed:

'The Britons, at that time primitive , and used to foes as yet half-naked, gave way with ease before the arms and standards of Rome, so much so that in his campaigns Caesar should have made this single boast: that he had crossed Oceanus.'[118]

As with woad it is possible that, if initially effective against the Romans, nudity soon proved as pointless as it was impractical on the Roman battlefield.

HAIRSTYLES

Another theme of Gallic warfare was the use of lime to alter the hair of the warriors. The writings of Diodorus Siculus provide a description:

'The Gauls are tall of body, with rippling muscles, and white of skin. Their hair is fair, not only by nature but also because of their custom of accentuating it by artificial means. They wash their hair in lime water then pull it back so that it differs little from a horse's mane.'[119]

[117] Dio Cassius, Epitome, LXII, 7 in E. Cary, *Dio's Roman History* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1968), p.95

[118] Panegyric on Constantius Caesar XI in S. Ireland, *Roman Britain Sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 2998), p.125

[119] Diodorus Siculus V, 27 in C.H. Oldfather (ed), *Diodorus Siculus* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1939), p.169 This reference to a horse's mane will be explored later in Chapter 3.

The Celtic attitude to war was both psychological and to a degree, pragmatic. As Stephen Allen explains 'lime-washing had a practical benefit as well, since the process coarsened and stiffened the hair, providing a degree of protection from blows to the head.'[120] Another example of the noble lime-haired Celt can be seen below in the Roman copy of a Hellenistic original of 'the Dying Gaul [which] is one of the finest pieces of Classical art, symbolizing both the splendour of barbarian races and their inevitable defeat by civilization. The long moustache and the limed hair, combed up to create an intimidating, spiky effect, are common in literary descriptions of Celts, as is heroic nudity.[121] In comparison Bleckwenn argues that the European armies of the 1730's insisted that Non-Commissioned Officers and Grenadiers also had to sport 'extremely fierce and military style' moustaches for intimidation.[122]

Though this copy is based upon a Greek statue, one can believe that the Romans were making the statement that despite all the Celt had to offer in warfare, he would eventually lose. Brennus' words 'woe to the Vanquished' had been turned back on the speaker.

STANDARD-BEARERS

The Romans did not use woad for body alteration, Jones argues the 'Romans and Greeks saw tattooing as uncivilized, fit only for slaves and fugitives'[123] though we know from Vegetius's extensive writing on the Roman army that all Roman soldiers were tattooed as they took their oath

[120] S. Allen, *Lords of Battle – The World of the Celtic Warrior* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing Ltd, 2007), p.20

[121] A. Goldsworthy, *Roman Warfare* (London: Pheonix, 2007), p.104

[122] H. Bleckwenn in I.T. Schick, *Battledress – The Uniforms of the World's Great Armies* (London: Artus Books, 1993), p.39

[123] C.P. Jones., 'Stigma: tattooing and branding in Graeco-Roman Antiquity', *Journal of Roman Studies 77* (1987), p. 139-55.

of allegiance[124] and in the later empire, the Acta 1.1-5.5 of Maximilianus during the reign of Diocletian states that branding was by this stage, the recognized form of marking recruits.[125] This would have pragmatic benefits as well; it would be quicker to do and more hygienic. Though having experienced the pain of small tattoos on their arms the Romans might have had a lot of respect for men that could endure whole body tattoos of the Celts. However the Romans also took a practical, mythical and sublime approach to appearance. Vegetius stated:

'The chief standard of the entire legion is the eagle, carried by the eagle-bearer. Dragons are also carried into battle, one for each cohort, by dragon-bearers.'[126]

It is not the purpose of this dissertation to go into great length about the arms and armour of the entire Roman army however it is fair to say that the Roman Gallic helmet, shield and *lorica segmentata* armour worn extensively from around the mid-first century AD onwards were extremely practical and contributed ostensibly to Roman military dominance. But of interest for this study are the Roman standard-bearers and Roman cavalry troopers.[127] The most important item for any Roman soldier was the Eagle and thus the importance of the men who carried these standards is confirmed, and new archaeological evidence suggests that the use of the 'parade' helmets (pictured below) may not be solely the domain of cavalry, but might have been worn by standard-bearers and also in battle.

[124] 'The recruit should not be tattooed with the pin-pricks of the official mark as soon as he has been selected, but first be thoroughly tested' - Vegetius I, 8 & 'The soldiers are marked with tattoos in the skin which will last and swear an oath, when they are enlisted in the stands - Vegetius II, 5 in N.P Milner (ed), *Vegetius: Epitome of Military Science* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2001), p.9 & p.34

[125] A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), p.616

[126] Vegetius II, 13 in N.P Milner (ed), *Vegetius: Epitome of Military Science* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2001), p.44

[127] Roman cavalry troopers will be looked at in detail in Chapter Two because of their roles in Triumphs and their religious connotations.

A study of this tombstone reveals the mail shirt; the face-mask on his helmet to which the animal skin and head is attached, its paws falling over his shoulders; he carries a small oval shield and his standard-issue sword.[128] The idea of animal skins as clothing is interesting as it appears that the Romans and Greeks actually saw them as uncivilized, Claudian describing Britain said: 'Britannia, dressed in the skin of some Caledonian beast, her cheeks tattooed, her sea-blue mantle sweeping over her'[129] possibly suggesting Britons wore skins as well as tattoos and were barbaric. However, the adoption of animal skins by the Romans could have been the result of copying the dress-habits of Rome's early enemies and the animals they feared and revered.

The standard-bearer had special significance within the Roman military and for the Roman legionaries for a number of reasons. Firstly, dealing with practicalities, the standards provided a visual focus for advance or retreat; the trumpet provided audible signals and relayed commands to the standard-bearers.[130] Vegetius stated that the Eagles were a form of mute signal[131] and recorded that:

'The ancients knew that in battle once fighting commenced the ranks and lines quickly became disordered and confused. To avert this possibility they divided the cohorts into centuries and established individual ensigns for each century. The ensign was inscribed with letters indicating the

[128] R. Cowan, *Roman Battle Tactics 109 BC – AD 313* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2007), p.18

[129] Claudian, On the Consulship of Stilicho II, 247-55 in M. Platnauer, *Claudian II* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1922), p.21 & Diodorus Siculus noted that Celts slept on animal skins which was barbaric - Diodorus Siculus V, 34 in C.H. Oldfather (ed), *Diodorus Siculus* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1939), p.189

[130] R. Cowan, *Roman Battle Tactics 109 BC – AD 313* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2007), p.5

[131] Vegetius III, 5 in N.P. Milner (ed), *Vegetius – Epitome of Military Science* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2001), p.72

century's cohort and ordinal number within it. Seeing this, soldiers could not stray from their comrades, whatever the confusion of battle.'[132]

Polybius believed 'we must pay great attention to the matter of signals and counter-signals, and to the choice of individuals by whom or in whose company they are carried out'[133] emphasising the importance of standards and the men that carried them. And Tacitus describes how the Eagles were planted in the ground to show the locations where the legions should get into formation indicating that the standard was a visual focus to deploy battle lines over a long distance.[134] This also shows how close to the enemy the standard-bearers were and suggests the standard-bearers fought in hand-to-hand combat as well, hence their small round shields, enabling them to hold the standard and protect themselves while fighting with a *gladius*. Tacitus also makes reference to them when describing the Roman attack on Mona when he says the legionaries 'advanced with their standards' suggesting they were front line objects.[135]

THE EAGLE

The founder of Rome was Romulus and we know from Dio that 'Romulus distinguished himself uniformly in warfare,'[136] the aim of every Roman soldier, and Dio also provides a description: 'Romulus had a crown and a sceptre with an eagle on top.'[137] The sceptre with an eagle on top could

[132] Vegetius II, 13 in N.P. Milner (ed), *Vegetius – Epitome of Military Science* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 22001), p.44

[133] Polybius IX, 13 in I. Scott-Kilvert, *Polybius – The Rise of the Roman Empire* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1979), p.398

[134] Tacitus III, 21 in K. Wellesley, *Tacitus – The Histories* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1964), p.158

[135] Tacitus, Annals XIV, 30 in C.H. Moore, *Tacitus Annals* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1966), p.155

[136] E. Cary (ed), *Dio's Roman History* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1968), p.23

[137] E. Cary (ed), *Dio's Roman History* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1968), p.21

be the inspiration for the military Eagle-standard. The Jewish writer Josephus describing a triumph observed that 'next came the standards surrounding the eagle, which goes at the head of every Roman legion, since it is the king and most courageous of birds; it is thought by the Romans to be a symbol of empire and a portent of victory no matter who their opponents.'[138] Thus the 'First cohort, [which] seeks out the most select men as regards birth and instruction in letters, protects the eagle, which was always the especial and distinctive sign in the Roman army of the whole legion. It undertakes the worship of the images of the Emperors, the divine and propitious *signa* [effigies on standards and the standards themselves]'[139] and the Chief centurion was in charge of the eagle.[140] Consequently those tasked with protecting the Eagle in battle were the best soldiers. So those fighting before the standards, around the standards and in the front line were called *principes*.[141]

The eagle is a symbol of greatness transitioning many other cultures, especially native northern and southern American tribal societies such as the Aztecs.[142] As will be discussed later, as a bird, the Eagle represented Jupiter, the king of the gods and was an object of massive reverence with only the best men selected for the honour of carrying the standard.[143] The use of scared banners served as a visual reminder to the warriors of the support of heaven for their cause and thereby reinforced their

[138] Josephus 123, Jewish War III in H.ST.J Thackeray, *Josephus III* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1928), p.613

[139] Vegetius II, 6 in N.P. Milner (ed), *Vegetius – Epitome of Military Science* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2001), p.35

[140] Vegetius II, 8 in N.P Milner (ed), *Vegetius – Epitome of Military Science* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2001), p.40

[141] Vegetius II, 15 in N.P. Milner (ed), *Vegetius – Epitome of Military Science* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2001), p. 47

[142] A.M Josephy Jnr, *500 Nations – An Illustrated History Of North American Indians*, (London: Pimlico, 1995), p.111

[143] Tacitus recorded that when Germanicus saw eight eagles fly into a wood, he saw it as a sign that the legionaries should 'follow the birds of Rome, the legions' very own spirits' - Tacitus I, 2.17 in M. Grant, *The Annals of Imperial Rome* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1948), p.84-85.

morale and resolve.[144] Officers chose from the ranks two of their bravest and most soldierly men to be standard-bearers.[145] 'By the time of the Principate the top of the standard appears to have been gold or gold plated. Decoration was fairly simple and the eagle's staff usually bare, although a figure on the breastplate of the Prima Porta statue of Augustus does show a row of discs like those normally associated with *signa*.'[146] This difference in approach to decorating the different standard shafts may have two connotations. Firstly, as will be discussed in more detail later, discs that adorned the shafts of the *signa* could be for identification of the century. And secondly, so important is the Eagle that no other form of decoration was allowed on the shaft to detract from the Eagle at the top.

In fortresses, whether permanent or temporary the Eagle took central position, firstly the standards [we]re set up in their places inside the camp, because there is nothing more revered by the soldiers than their majesty.[147] Everything points to the fact that the *principia* was the hub of the fortress.[148] It was the religious centre, where the spirit of the legion resided in the form of the *aquila*.[149] The *principia* was normally located centrally within the camp making it not only the focal point of the camp but also the safest place.

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[144] R.W. Jones, *Bloodied Banners – Martial Display on the Medieval Battlefield* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), p.153

[145] Polybius VI, 24 in I. Scott-Kilvert, *Polybius – The Rise of the Roman Empire* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1979), p.322

[146] A. Goldsworthy, *The Complete Roman Army* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007), p.134 & D. B. Campbell, *Mons Graupius AD 83* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing Ltd, 2011), p.41

[147] Vegetius III, 8 in N.P Milner (ed), *Vegetius – Epitome of Military Science* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2001), p.81

[148] D.B. Campbell, *Roman Legionary Fortresses 27 BC – AD 378* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2006), p.41

[149] Polybius describes how they plant the Eagle in the most central position and then construct the camp starting a hundred feet from that position – Polybius VI, 27 in I. Scott-Kilvert, *Polybius – The Rise of the Roman Empire* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1979), p.324 & Dio describes a small shrine within which the Eagle is placed – Dio III, 40.18 in E. Cary, *Dio's Roman History III* (London: William Heinemann Ltd,), p.431

The *aquilifer* (standard-bearer who carried the Eagle) 'played an important if comparatively minor leadership role in battle too [for he was] the man who served as a rallying point during the chaos of battle, and could urge hesitant troops forward during a particularly dangerous moment.[150] So if as, Campbell alludes to, there was a 'command group' of centurion, signifier and trumpeter located in the first rank'[151] then identification of these three and between these three was paramount. The selection of the lion skin, not only emphasised the extent of the Roman Empire and her ability to conquer man and nature but could also be based around the legend of Hercules, who famously wore the skin of the Nimean Lion, which he slew on his first Labour, and who represented strength and valour. And archaeology relates how the Emperor Commodus liked to dress as Hercules and fight as a gladiator.

This selection of the lion skin suggests the talismanic influence of the standard-bearer in battle. Vegitius says all 'centurions were chosen for their great strength and tall stature'[152] and is likely that standard-bearers were chosen for the same reason. The *Aquilifer*, was the senior standard-bearer and the man who took this role would be a veteran with a proven combat history and keen for 'the prestige and double pay.'[153] Carrying the standard of his unit was among the most senior positions available to the common legionary [and]a standard-bearer [could] expect to have a large amount of the enemy's attention dedicated to him personally during a battle.[154] Rome wanted her biggest and strongest men to carry her representative icons when in battle. Thus his uniform reflected the task.

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[150] C. McNab (ed), *The Roman Army – The Greatest War Machine of the Ancient World* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing Ltd, 2010), p.96

[151] D.B. Campbell, *Mons Graupius AD 83* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing Ltd, 2010), p.59

[152] Vegetius II, 14 in N.P. Milner (ed), *Vegetius - Epitome of Military Science* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2001), p.46

[153] P. Matyszak, *Legionary – The Roman Soldier's Manual* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2009), p.80

[154] P. Matyszak, *Legionary– The Roman Soldier's Manual* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2009), p.80

A Standard-bearer would be noticeable by his scale armour[155] which 'when polished such armour contributed to the splendid appearance of the man carrying this symbol of pride,[156] and most notably his use of various animal skins, 'this contributed to his spectacular appearance, and appears to have originally had ancient totemic significance'[157] possibly as Hercules was supposed to have built an altar on the site of Rome's foundation while he was completing his Twelve Labours[158] and later a great statue of Hercules was erected on the Capitol, Rome's religious centre.[159] The Romans might not be altering their body directly but the intent was certainly there to look fearsome. Polybius describing the earlier Republican *hastate* soldiers said 'they wear a plume of three black feathers standing upright about a foot and a half in height. These are placed on the helmet, and the general effect combined with the rest of the armour is to make each man look twice his real height, and gives him an appearance which strikes terror into the enemy.'[160]

Secondly, it was what the standard-bearer protected and its importance to the soldiers. Goldsworthy propagates that 'legionaries who viewed the army as a career, not simply as an interruption to normal life, came to identify very strongly with their legion, and these units developed tremendous corporate spirit. Skilful leaders such as Caesar would play on soldiers' pride in their legions and rivalry with other units in the army.'[161] The legion became the family to which a legionary would belong to for twenty-five years, the other men in his unit would become as brothers to him as it was these men that he would eat, sleep, fight and die with. It was akin to a tribal society; both militaristic

[155] A cuirass of bronze scales.

[156] A. Goldsworthy, *The Complete Roman Army* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007), p.54

[157] A. Goldsworthy, *The Complete Roman Army* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007), p.54

[158] Livy I, 7 in A. De Sèlincourt, *Livy – The Early History of Rome* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1960), p.25

[159] Livy IX, 44.13 in B. Radice, *Livy – Rome and Italy* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1982), p.284

[160] Polybius VI, 23 in I. Scott-Kilvert, *Polybius – The Rise of the Roman Empire* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1979), p.321

[161] A. Goldsworthy, *The Complete Roman Army* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007), p.47

and hierarchical. This strong bond was symbolized by the legion standard, the Eagle. Thus great emphasis was put on bonding the soldiers together and using the Eagle as their reverential focus point. The annual birthday feast celebrating the foundation of the legion (*natalis aquilae*, [translated as] 'birthday of the eagle'), parades and training exercises were of fundamental importance in fostering mass unit identity and maintaining morale at the level of the legion, because these might be the only times outside war when the legion might be gathered together.[162] There was no greater disgrace than to lose your Eagle to the enemy as witnessed in Caesar's account of his 'invasion' of Britain. The legionaries refused to disembark and fight the shouting, aggressive Britons that awaited them on the beach until:

'The eagle-bearer of the Tenth Legion, after a prayer to heaven to bless his legion by his act, cried: ''Leap down, soldiers, unless you wish to betray your eagle to the enemy; it shall be told that I at any rate did my duty to my country and my general.''[163]

The legionaries followed him ashore and another victory was won for Rome.[164]

Each century had its own standard, which as well as being the essential focus of direction in battle was viewed as a divine totem embodying the genius of the century – just as the genius of the entire legion resided in the *aquila*.[165] And the Eagle came to represent something special to the legionaries themselves who were often recruited from poorer rural backgrounds with low employability.[166] The

[162] C. McNab (ed), *The Roman Army – The Greatest War Machine of the Ancient World* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing Ltd, 2010), p.154

[163] Julius Caesar, Gallic Wars IV, 25 in H.J. Edwards, *Caesar – The Gallic War* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1917), p.213

[164] Tacitus also describes a loss of an Eagle and the Romans 'smarting under this humiliation' – Tacitus II, 43 in K. Wellesley, *Tacitus – The Histories* (Harmondsworth: Penguin classics, 1964), p.106

[165] R. Cowan, *Roman Battle Tactics 109 BC-AD 313* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing Ltd, 2007), p.7

[166] Vegetius I, 7 in N.P Milner (ed), *Vegetius: Epitome of Military Science* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2001), p.7

aquila worked to increase loyalty and devotion of soldiers to the legion through fostering a corporate identity, but it was also reflective of the sweeping away of the old class divisions within the Roman army.[167] Cicero stated 'the legion had the supreme merit of harnessing the consciousness of strength which men derive from action in union with fellows.'[168]

OTHER STANDARDS

It is important to note, that in the age of the Republic and of the Principate, there was a vast array of standards for each legion and consequently a large number of standard-bearers wearing the more common wolf or bear-skin.

Polybius provides us with a possible inspiration for the wolf-skin adornment, he speaks of 'the youngest soldiers, the *velites*, w[earing] a plain helmet, covered with a wolf's skin, which serves to both protect and identify the soldier; this allows the officers to recognize the man and to observe whether or not he shows courage in the face of danger.'[169] This could be one possible origin of the use of animal skins in the Roman army.

SIGNIFER

Each century in a legion having its own standard appears to have continued throughout the Principate and this was called the *Signum*. The standard-bearer responsible for the *signum* was the *signifer*. These men were extremely important to the legionaries themselves and were the

[167] C. McNab (ed), *The Roman Army – The Greatest War Machine of the Ancient World* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing Ltd, 2010), p.87

[168] Cicero in F.R. Cowell, *Cicero and the Roman Republic* (Harmondsworth: Pelican Books, 1964), p.48

[169] Polybius VI, 22 in I. Scott-Kilvert, *Polybius – The Rise of the Roman Empire* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1979), p.320

figurehead of the men. Goldsworthy states that '*Signa* appear to have been topped by an ornamental spearhead, their shafts were heavily decorated with cross-pieces, wreaths, and from two to six large discs. The actual significance of any of these items is unknown, though it does seem probable that together they provided a system for identifying the particular century.'[170] It is pure speculation but perhaps another reason for these discs could be campaign or battle honours as written on British Army Colours centuries later.[171] The *signifer* also had a practical and extremely important role to play for each century. Under the Principate they administered the men's pay and saving accounts.[172] As money was so important to Roman soldiers these men would be very important.

IMAGIFER

The *imagifer* or image-bearer carried the images of the Emperor.[173] 'Under the Principate each unit also included a series of images of the emperor and his close family which were mounted on poles and kept with the standards.'[174] On becoming a legionary, and every year after that the legionaries

[170] Suggested by R. Cowan, *Roman Battle Tactics 27 BC – AD 378* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2006), p.18

[171] A. Mallinson, *The Making of the British Army* (London: Bantam books, 2011), p.52

[172] A. Goldsworthy, *Roman Warfare* (London: Pheonix, 2007), p.218 - Vegetius indicates half the men's wages were to be left with the standard-bearers – Vegetius II, 20 in N.P. Milner (ed), *Vegetius – Epitome of Military Science* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2001), p.54

[173] Vegetius II, 7 in N.P. Milner (ed), *Vegetius – Epitome of Military Science* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2001), p.37

[174] A. Goldsworthy, *The Complete Roman Army* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007), p.134

swore their allegiance to the Emperor,[175] as it was important for the Emperor to maintain control of the army to maintain control of the state.[176] Vegetius writes:

'The soldiers swear that they will strenuously do all that the Emperor may command, will never desert the service, nor refuse to die for the Roman State.'[177]

Rome's frequent civil wars would attest to this oath not being fool-proof. When discussing the standard with an upraised hand symbol, Goldsworthy implies that 'the upraised hand may originally have been the symbol of the maniple, for the word probably derived from the Latin for hand, manus, meaning small group or handful of men.' This is possible but what is more plausible is that as a symbol it came to represent the legionaries' oath to Emperor, as the raised open hand is reminiscent of the way the legionaries would raise their right hand to swear allegiance to the Emperor so the *signifer* carries the 'open hand' emblem reminding soldiers of their oath.[178]

CORNICINES

Another soldier allowed to wear an animal skin was the Roman musician who played the *Cornu* (horn). Animal furs were commonly worn by musicians to indicate their special status.[179] And the *Cornicines* had a very important role in battle, they were responsible with the standard-bearers for passing on a commander's instructions to the troops. On the battlefield different calls, accompanied

[175] J. Alcock, *Life in Roman Britain* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1996), p.30

[176] Tacitus discusses this in detail in II, 6 – K. Wellesley, *Tacicitus – The Histories* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1964), p.84

[177] Vegitius II, V in N.P. Milner (ed), *Vegetius: Epitome of Science* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2001), p.34

[178] P. Matyzsak, *Legionary – The Roman Soldiers' Manual* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2009), p.80

[179] S. Anglim, P.G. Jestice, R.S. Rice, S.M. Rusch & J. Serrati, *Fighting Techniques of the Ancient World* (New York: St Martin's Press, 2002), p.141

by visual signals such as raising of the standards, would sound the alarm or order a recall.[180] When troops charged into contact and raised their war cry, the *cornicines* blew their instruments so as to encourage their comrades and discourage the enemy,[181] a similar tactic to that of the Celts described by Diodorus Siculus earlier on.

CELTIC STANDARDS

There are various references to Celtic standards in classical literature such as Polybius who noted that 'Aemilius, after invading the territory of the Boii, sent the standards of the Gauls to decorate the Capitol.'[182] As seen earlier with reference to groups of warriors using woad, and the bonding ritual for the Romans through reverence to the Eagle, Celts also put great store in martial unity, a common trait observed in the Celts according to Vegetius; 'the Gauls used hordes in battle, in which there were six thousand soldiers,'[183] slightly more than a Roman legion. This suggests war bands of friends, family and retainers that perhaps mingled with other war bands to form a tribe and thus needed a focal point during the battle. Allen argues 'to identify each grouping in the battle-line and to act as rallying points, the guardian deities of tribe and clan were carried into battle as standards topped with carved or cast figures of their animal forms, as with the Eagles of Rome, these standards

[180] Vegetius II, 7 & II, 22 in N.P. Milner (ed), *Vegetius – Epitome of Military Science* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2001), p.38 & p.56

[181] C. McNab (ed), *The Roman Army – The Greatest War Machine of the Ancient World* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing Ltd, 2010), p.96

[182] Polybius II, 31 in I. Scott-Kilvert, *Polybius – The Rise of the Roman Empire* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1979), p.141 & Livy talks about 'the Gaul's standards' in Livy VII, 9.8 in B. Radice, *Livy – Rome and Italy* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1982), p.108

[183] Vegetius II, 2 in N.P. Milner (ed), *Vegetius: Epitome of Science* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2001), p.31

were religious symbols.'[184] Chapter Three looks at the importance of animal iconography but this observation suggests that Celtic groups could be divided up by reverence to different animals.

Chapter I has discussed some of the practical ways with which the body was altered to make it either more easily identified or more intimidating but Chapter II and III will look at the biggest influences on the motivations for why the body was altered and which images were chosen for these alterations.

[184] S. Allen, *Lords of Battle – The World of the Celtic Warrior* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing Ltd, 2007), p.24 & Tacitus discussing the Germans commented 'They carry into the fray figures and emblems from their sacred groves' in Tacitus, *Germania*, VII in H. Mattingley, *Tacitus on Britain and Germany* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1948), p.106-107

CHAPTER II

Religion and Superstition

Belief and superstition are entwined in every society and Celtic acceptance of the spirit world as normal practice was of great interest to Caesar[185] yet Roman religion had evolved on political and social levels.[186] Ritual and religion included many facets, from the gods that were worshipped by Celts and Romans and the eventual overlap that was experienced after the extended Roman occupation of Celtic lands, to the head-hunting rituals of Celtic warriors who 'believed the head possessed someone's soul.'[187]

ROME AND RELIGION

'The sphere in which the Roman commonwealth seems to show its superiority most decisively is in that of religious belief. Here we find that the very phenomenon which among other peoples is regarded as a subject for reproach, namely superstition, is actually the element which holds the Roman state together.'[188] Consequently Rome thrived because of strong religious beliefs that pervaded all areas of life, for instance, 'the coins authorized by the Senate usually bore religious

[185] See Julius Caesar, Gallic War VI, 13-18 in H.J. Edwards, *Caesar – The Gallic War* (London: William Heinemann, 1917), p.251-257

[186] J. Alcock, *Life in Roman Britain* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1996), p.30

[187] A. Konstam, *Historical Atlas of the Celtic World* (London: Mercury Books, 2003), p.55 & Julius Caesar, Gallic War VI, 14 in H.J. Edwards, *Caesar - The Gallic War* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1917), p.253

[188] Polybius VI, 56 in I. Scott-Kilvert, *Polybius – The Rise of the Roman Empire* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1979), p.349

emblems.'[189] Rome's very foundation was based upon religion, Livy, in reference to Romulus, proclaims that if 'the Romans declare that Mars himself was the first parent of the man who founded their city all the nations of the world should accept Rome's imperial dominion'[190] and Plutarch says Romulus 'was naturally a martial man'[191] and 'eminently religious and skilled in divination'[192] with his surname given as the equivalent of Mars – Quirinus.[193] Livy also discusses the first three laws created after the retaking of Rome from the Gauls; firstly all religious building must be repaired and purified; secondly, a Treaty of Friendship and Hospitality with Caere should be formed in recognition of them giving asylum to Roman priests and sacred objects thereby ensuring the continuity of religious substance and worship; and thirdly, that the Capitoline Games would be held in recognition of Jupiter Greatest and Best and the preservation of his temple in a time of peril.[194]

The Roman Triumph is the best example of the joining of religion and the military and this 'victory celebration, marked by the carrying of trophies and concluding with a sacrifice, which the Romans called a Triumph, as it was first instituted by Romulus.'[195] The Roman Triumph was a 'sacramental rite, and every detail of the procession and of the sacrifices performed at the culminating moment of the mystery was prescribed by law'[196] and 'myths, superstitions, strange religions from abroad

[189] Cicero in F.R. Cowell, *Cicero and the Roman Republic* (Harmondsworth: Pelican Books, 1964), p.104

[190] Livy I, 1 in A. De Sèlincourt, *Livy – The Early History of Rome* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1960), p.

[191] Plutarch *'Romulus'* in A.H. Clough, *Plutarch's Lives* (Ebook: Project Gutenberg, Netlibrary Inc), p.25

[192] Plutarch *'Romulus'* in A.H. Clough, *Plutarch's Lives* (Ebook: Project Gutenberg, Netlibrary Inc), p.31

[193] Plutarch *'Romulus'* in A.H. Clough, *Plutarch's Lives* (Ebook: Project Gutenberg, Netlibrary Inc), p.35

[194] Livy, V, 49 in A. de Sèlincourt, *Livy* (Harmondsworth: Pelican Books, 1960), p.380

[195] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, II, 34 in E. Cary (ed), *Dionysius of Halicarnassus I* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1937), p.409

[196] R. Payne, *The Roman Triumph* (London: Pan Books Ltd, 1962), p.9

worked upon the triumph and subtly influenced it.'[197] Polybius wrote that 'men who receive trophies not only enjoy great prestige in the army but are singled out for precedence in religious processions when they return.'[198] And gods and animals were equally represented in the triumph.[199]

PARADES AND CEREMONIES

Parades were an opportunity for the Roman occupation forces to dress up and impress an all-conquering, all-powerful vision on Rome's defeated subjects. A passage from Arrian shows that they were a routine part of performances:

'Troopers who are officers or first-rate horsemen sport gilded helmets made of bronze or iron to attract attention from the crowd. These helmets do not just cover the head and cheeks, in the manner of helmets used on campaign, but are made so that they cover the whole face of the rider, with slits for the eyes……. Horses have chamfrons made carefully to fit, along with side-armour.'[200]

Auxiliary units in Britain, particularly the cavalry, would have put on displays using this kind of equipment, 'parade' helmets and chamfrons. Externally they were 'overtly martial, and barbaric in their graphic intensity, [but]the iconography and subject matter are all drawn from the Roman world.'[201] It is reasonable to suggest that these helmets were designed to project an image of otherworldness; a godlike incarnation on an armoured and decorated horse. Whether they were

[197] R. Payne, *The Roman Triumph* (London: Pan Books Ltd, 1962), p.11

[198] Polybius VI, 39 in I. Scott-Kilvert, *Polybius – The Rise of the Roman Empire* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1979), p.335

[199] Josephus, Jewish War VII, 136 in H.ST.J Thackeray, *Josephus VII* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1927), p.545

[200] Arrian *Ars Tactica 34* in G. de la Bedoyère, *Eagles Over Britannia - The Roman Army in Britain* (Stroud: Tempus, 2001), p.176

[201] G. de la Bedoyère, *Eagles Over Britannia – The Roman Army in Britain* (Stroud: Tempus, 2001), p.176

worn in battle will be discussed but even as part of a display team or a parade through a conquered territory they would scare, intimidate and create awe in an oppressed population. De la Bedoyère states that some were given effeminate features as to create the illusion of Amazons,[202] the warrior women of Greek mythology. This duality of sexuality can be seen in a cavalry 'parade helmet' from Nijmegen in Holland presenting a variation on the common style by having the top of the helmet shaped to represent hair, in this case real animal hair has been fixed to the helmet instead.

Though it must be noted that as ethereal as these masks and costumes might have made the cavalry troopers, the cavalry games were in fact, mock battles, and thus taken very seriously on a practical level, as training. As a result, it becomes even more plausible that cavalry troopers could have worn these masks in battle due to the large amount of time that troopers spent practicing in them for the games. A useful source of information concerning military equipment comes from the depictions of soldiers on their tombstones. As one can see below the 'parade' helmet was an all over covering for the head, highly ornate and decorated, with small holes for vision.

Roman psychological warfare becomes more evident as it is more than possible that helmets fitted with masks were utilized by foot soldiers on campaign and in combat, perhaps officers 'who wished to cut a dash'[203] but also standard bearers and possibly legionaries. They might be influenced by the gladiatorial shows they had witnessed where gladiators such as the *Murmillo* wore helmets that covered the entire head and made him look for physically impressive.[204] But it is possible that the practicalities of better protection and an increased fear-factor played a part.

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[202] G. de la Bedoyère, *Eagles Over Britannia – The Roman Army in Britannia* (Stroud: Tempus, 2001), p.176 – the Newstead helmet, & A. Goldsworthy, *The Complete Roman Army* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007), p.140.

[203] A. Goldsworthy, *The Complete Roman Army* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007), p.111

[204] R. Dunkle, *Gladiators – Violence and Spectacle in Ancient Rome* (London: Pearson Longman, 2008), p.105

The analysis of finds of military equipment has allowed the emergence of a much clearer picture of the appearance of the Roman soldier [yet] this does not always mean it is straightforward to interpret the evidence.[205] The discovery of the Kalriese face-mask poses many questions, if as what has normally been assumed is that face masks were only worn for parades or displays and ceremonies, why was this mask found on the battlefield unless it was combat-equipment. It is possible a German warrior from elsewhere on the battlefield took it, then discarded it in the ditch when he realized that it provided limited vision, which was more relevant for a fast-moving German warrior than a slow-moving Roman in a compact group of comrades with protection either side.

ROMAN MILITARY RELIGION

Shotter states that 'the Roman army had gods who were of especial significance to itself – Jupiter, Mars, Hercules as well as the obligatory 'imperial cult'; but the soldiers could readily take on gods with local significance, such as the tutelary deities of tribes and towns – Brigantia (depicted as a classical 'winged victory' in a carving from Birrens), and Carlisle'[206] who was reminiscent of the Roman goddess Minerva. Jupiter and Hercules were very important to the Roman army but Mars took precedence.[207] During the siege of the Capitol in 390 BC 'Caius Fabius Dorsuo risked his life to perform the annual sacrifice to the Quirinal, a highly sacred hill within Rome, sure the gods would favour one who had not neglected to serve them. The Gauls did nothing to stop him for religious sentiment is strong in them.'[208] [209]

[205] A. Goldsworthy, *The Complete Roman Army* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007), p.12

[206] D. Shotter, *The Roman Frontier in Britain* (Preston: Carnegie Publishing Ltd, 1996), p.133

[207] As seen earlier with the centrality of Mars to Rome's foundation story.

[208] Livy V, 46 in A. De Sèlincourt, *Livy – The Early History of Rome* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1960), p.375 – Appendix I

This was taken a step further by the Emperors of Rome who became deified and were the subject of their own legionary standards, as carried by the *Imagifer*. The Roman State promoted religion on a political basis by encouraging worship of the emperor and ensuring the loyalty of the army.[210] The body and soul of the Emperor had been transformed into many *imagos* so that he could be transported around the Empire as inspiration and a symbol of Roman power. It was an attempt at elevating the Emperor to the level the Romans had placed in animal iconography such as the Eagle and the pantheon of Greeks gods. Simkins notes that 'once accepted for service, recruits swore an oath of allegiance to the Emperor, probably before the Eagle of his legion.'[211] This is possibly an attempt by the Emperor to merge and connect himself with the Eagles of the Legions, the true subjects of the legionaries' reverence. The totemic value of the Eagle as king of birds and the chosen symbol of Jupiter as kings of the gods would have been invaluable to a Roman Emperor.

CELTIC BELIEFS

Violence and religion existed together in the Celtic world. Tacitus discusses how Paulinus destroyed the groves of the druids on Mona 'for it was their religion to drench the altars in the blood of prisoners and consult their gods by means of human entrails.[212] At the time of Caesar [the Druids]

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[209] At the Battle of Pharsulus there is more evidence of the importance of religion within the army, 'for the battle Caesar's men were given the watchword 'Venus, Bringer of Victory' in reference to his divine ancestor, while Pompey's men put their trust in 'Hercules, Unconquered' - C. McNab (ed), *The Roman Army – The Greatest War Machine of the Ancient World* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2010), p.131

[210] J. Alcock, *Life in Roman Britain* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1996), p.30

[211] M. Simkins, *The Roman Army from Caesar to Trajan* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2008), p.9

[212] Tacitus XIV, 28 in M. Grant, *Tacitus – The Annals of Imperial Rome* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1977), p.327-328

were a powerful branch of the Gallic and British aristocracies, responsible for the oral transmission of religious lore and wielding considerable political clout.[213] Caesar noted that:

'Throughout Gaul there are two classes of men who are of some account and are held in esteem, druids and knights. The druids officiate at religious ceremonies, supervise public and private sacrifices, and expound on religious questions.'[214]

Caesar also described what he thought of Druids and their teachings in relation to death:

'The Druids attach particular importance to the belief that the soul does not perish but passes after death from one body to another: they think that this belief is the most effective way to encourage bravery because it removes the fear of death.'[215]

This could make a Celtic enemy very dangerous because he might not always fight with the same consideration or predictability as a man who thought his life was sacrosanct. To a Celtic hero death was welcomed as the entry to the otherworld, a place of feasting and fighting.[216] Yet, in time 'the comprehensive mythology, based on aspects of life which the Celt considered vital – warfare, fertility, prosperity and the otherworld – merged with the Roman pantheon.'[217] Caesar when describing Celtic gods saw connections and describes these gods with the name of the Roman god they were most similar to:

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[213] D. Mattingley, *An Imperial Possession – Britain in the Roman Empire* (London: Penguin, 2007), p.105

[214] Julius Caesar, Gallic War VI, 13 in H.J Edwards, *Caesar – The Gallic War* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1917), p.251

[215] Julius Caesar, The Gallic War, VI, 14 in H.J. Edwards, *Caesar – The Gallic War* (London: William Heninemann Ltd, 1917), p.253

[216] J. Alcock, *Life in Roman Britain* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1996), p.45

[217] J. Alcock, *Life in Roman Britain* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1996), p.32 – Peter Salway also argues that 'one of the reasons why religion in Roman Britain is both so confusing and often so difficult to interpret is the tendency in the Roman world to 'conflate' with classical gods the deities of the peoples that the Romans conquered or that were imported into the empire', *Oxford Illustrated History of Roman Britain* (London: BCA, 1993), p .469

'They worship Mercury most of all regarding him as the inventor of all crafts, their guide on journeys and consider him to be especially important for the acquisition of money in trade. After him they worship Apollo, Mars, Jupiter and Minerva, about whom they hold much the same ideas as do other races: that Apollo dispels disease, that Minerva teaches arts and crafts, that Jupiter reigns in heaven, that Mars is Lord of Warfare, and it is to him, when they have decided to fight a battle, that they generally promise the booty they look forward to taking.'[218]

The affinity between Roman religion and that of the Celtic areas under Roman rule becomes closer and closer the more one looks at the cults that appealed to ordinary people rather than the great public ceremonial of the Roman state.[219] There is one artefact of immeasurable use when studying Celtic culture and that is the Gundestrup Cauldron, a votive offering, which now resides in the National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen.[220] The far-left relief has been utilised to display aspects of Celtic warfare, however the relief on the far-right displays Celtic religion. 'Cernunnous, whose image [also] glowers from such widely diverse objects as a bucket escutcheon at Aylesford in Kent, and a crudely carved block at Moresby in Cumbria'[221] proves the diverse area the Celts and their religion covered. Cernunnous was supposedly the creator and taker of life and consequently is depicted surrounded by animals.

[218] Julius Caesar, The Gallic War, VI, 17 in H.J. Edwards, *Caesar – The Gallic War* (London: William Heninemann Ltd, 1917), p.256-257

[219] P. Salway, *Oxford Illustrated History of Roman Britain* (London: BCA, 1993), p.490

[220] The cauldron is made of silver and weighs nine kilograms and is a meant to have arrived in Denmark in around 100 BC. The style and techniques suggest it was produced in the southern Balkans by Thracians, a long-lost people who specialised in the manufacture of luxurious silverware - J. Alcock, *Life in Roman Britain* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1996), p.35

[221] J. Alcock, *Life in Roman Britain* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1996), p.35

In certain instances there was obvious assimilation of Roman and Celtic gods. In Brigantian territory, the warrior deities Cocidius and Belatucadrus merged in personality with Mars.[222] And the Roman poet Lucan, writing in the first century AD, mentions the names of a Gaulish god, Taranis, in Celtic Taranus means 'thunder,'[223] the Romans would not find it hard to join Jupiter and Taranis.

THE CELT AND HEAD HUNTING

The use of the body in warfare is personified by the taking and displaying of an enemy's head. There are many references to head hunting in the classical Greek and Roman texts, Livy describes a battle in the region of Clausium: 'some Gallic horsemen came in sight, carrying heads hanging from their horses' breasts and fixed on their spears, singing their customary song of triumph.'[224] And rarely is the subject of the body, religion and warfare so closely embodied than in the Celtic penchant for head-hunting as Diodorus Siculus describes:

'They cut off their heads and fasten them to the bridles of their horses; and handing over to their retainers the arms of their opponents all covered with blood, they carry them off as booty. These first fruits of victory they nail to the sides of their houses just as men do in certain kinds of hunting with the heads of wild beasts they have killed. They embalm the heads of their most distinguished

[222] J. Alcock, *Life in Roman Britain* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1996), p.33

[223] Lucan I, 500 in E. Ridley, *Lucan's Pharsalia* (London: A.L. Humphreys, 1919), p.19

[224] Livy X, 26,12 in B. Radice, *Livy – Rome and Italy* (Harmondswoth: Penguin Classics, 1982), p.325 'The head of Atilius was brought to the Celtic king' - Polybius II, 28 in I. Scott-Kilvert, *Polybius – The Rise of the Roman Empire* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1979), p.139 & 'The heads of all enemies killed in battle are taken to the king' - Herodotus IV, 65 in A. De Sèlincourt, *Herodotus – The Histories* (London: Penguin Classics, 1954), p.291

foes in cedar oil and carefully preserve them. They show them to visitors, proudly stating that they had refused a large sum of money for them.'[225]

As a practice it was abhorrent to the Romans, who were not averse to brutality in warfare, but this they objected to on moral and religious grounds. The degradation of the body was not something to be done liberally, as seen when the punitive Roman expeditions to Germania occurred after the destruction of Varrus and his legions in the Teutoburg Forest, where every care was taken to bury the Roman dead.[226] The Celts hunted human heads as trophies, placing them on posts or hanging them from trees. Poseidonius commented that the Celts kept heads preserved in cedar-oil, a statement confirmed by pieces of skulls once preserved in oil found at Wroxeter on what may be the site of a shrine.[227] According to Strabo the Romans prohibited headhunting but the depiction of severed heads on Trajan's Column, erected in AD 113, suggests a custom permitted to auxiliaries in battle[228] and as the Roman government had always supplemented its citizen army with barbarian units[229] it was probably to scare the enemy as once it had scared the Romans. So prized were certain heads that occasionally a soldier can be seen fighting while holding an enemy head by the hair with his teeth or 'Gallic and German auxiliaries might come trotting back with enemy heads bouncing from their belts.'[230]

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[225] Diodorus Siculus V, 29-30 in C.H. Oldfather (ed), *Diodorus Siculus* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1939), p.173-175

[226] S. Dando-Collins, *Nero's Killing Machine* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2004), p.146-147 & according to Suetonius the anniversary of the Teutoburg was kept as a day of mourning from then on – Suetonius, Augustus II, 23 in R. Graves, *Suetonius – The Twelve Caesars* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1957), p.65 & Claudius' decision to abolish the druids – Claudius V in R. Graves, *Suetonius – The Twelve Caesars* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1957), p.202

[227] Strabo IV, 4-5 in H.L. Jones, *The Geography of Strabo II* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1923), p.247

[228] Strabo IV, 4-5 in H.L. Jones, *The Geography of Strabo II* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1923), p.247

[229] A.H.M Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), p.610-611

[230] P. Matyszak, *Legionary – The Roman Soldier's Manual* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2009), p.177

This is one of the interesting overlaps when studying Roman and Celtic martial practices, what the Roman auxiliary thought and what practices he carried out could be different to allied-legionary practices but very similar to their Celtic adversaries. Head-hunting was practised by many of the peoples of Iron Age Europe, but was especially important to Gauls, whose religion invested the head with great importance.[231]

The Gallic hill town of Roquepertuse was sacked by the Romans in the 120s BC. It included this important shrine, decorated with several heads set into niches in the wall. Even if head-taking had a religious purpose, it had a prestige value as well, it is probable that the Celts knew of the intimidation factor that would also occur by the sight of skulls in niches and heads hanging from gate posts.[232]

[231] A. Goldsworthy, *Roman Warfare* (London: Pheonix, 2007), p.101

[232] Heads were hung from the gateposts at Bredon Hill – see S. Allen, *Lords of Battle – The World of the Celtic Warrior* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2007), p.51

CHAPTER III

Mythology and Animal Iconography

The importance of animal iconography and the reverence for totems should not be underestimated.[233] In the Iron Age and Roman period these ideas of an animal representing not just an area of territory but an individual himself was very important, for animals were creatures of awe. 'Claudius greatly enjoyed wild beast shows'[234] especially 'panther hunts and bull-wrestling'[235] and as the wearing of animal skins by Roman standard-bearers may imply Rome's ability to rule over man and nature, Suetonius talks of the largest animals in the empire being caught and being put on display outside the palace for the public to marvel at.[236] Reading facts into the actions of animals was central to Romans. Livy relays an occurrence before a battle in Sentium:

'As they stood in formation, a hind in flight from a wolf which had chased it down from the mountains ran across the plain between the two armies. Then the two animals turned in opposite directions, the hind towards the Gauls and the wolf towards the Romans. The wolf was given way through the ranks, but the hind was struck down by the Gauls. At this one of the soldiers from the Roman front ranks cried out 'that is how flight and bloodshed will go – you see the beast sacred to

[233] The idea of animals representing people can even be seen today in various national rugby teams such as the British and Irish Lions, the Springboks of South Africa or the Wallabies of Australia.

[234] Suetonius, Claudius V, 34 in R. Graves, *The Twelve Caesars* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1957), p.206

[235] Suetonius, Claudius V, 21 in R. Graves, *The Twelve Caesars* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1957), p.198

[236] Suetonius, Augustus 43 in R. Graves, *The Twelve Caesars* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1957), p.79

Diana lying dead, while here the wolf of Mars is the winner, unhurt and untouched, to remind us of the race of Mars our Founder!''[237]

Herodian wrote of the Northern Britons 'they tattoo their bodies with various designs and pictures of all kinds of animals. This is the reason they do not wear clothes: so as not to cover up the designs on their bodies.'[238] This suggests a totemic value in these animal designs that could potentially be a vision of how the warrior wanted to see himself. A theme that continued into the Medieval period, Gerald of Wales in *Sir Garwain and the Green Knight* claimed that the animal selected as an image '[wa]s an index of their own ferocity,'[239] the more ferocious the animal meant the more ferocious the knight. As mentioned in Chapter II, Celtic battle standards were based around animals and Allen ascertains that 'creatures were revered by the warrior for specific qualities, such as valour, speed, ferocity and fidelity. Most commonly regarded as revered were the horse, the bull, the wild boar, the raven and the dog. By adopting the symbol, on clothing or armour, and also in appearance, and by invoking the spirit of a particular animal, the warrior believed that he would be granted the same qualities as the revered beast.'[240]

Thus the possible purposes for animal tattoos are twofold, it was more than simple body decoration, they were also spiritual invocations of a greater power, but still rooted in the real world. This also promotes a possible difference in thinking between Romans and Celts; the Romans did honour similar animals to the Celts but they also paid far more attention to the mythical beasts of legend. One can see why some of these animals were special; the horse was central to warfare and farming, the Gauls were noted for their cavalry and the Britons for their chariots; the bull was also a symbolic

[237] Livy X, 28.3 in B. Radice, *Livy – Rome and Italy* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1982), p.327

[238] Herodian III, 14, 6-8 in C.R. Whitaker, *Herodian* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1969),p. 359

[239] W.R.J Barron, *Sir Garwain and the Green Knight* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), p.63

[240] S. Allen, *Celtic Warrior 300 BC-AD 100* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing Ltd, 2010), p.19

exposition of power and virility;[241] the wild boar represented savagery and ferocity possibly explaining why it was a common example of a Celtic battle standard; the dog was a loyal companion and the Britons 'bred dogs specifically for hunting'[242] so it played a part in providing food and the raven represented death and the collector of souls for the Otherworld. A study of Celtic archaeological finds can present some indication of which animals were important to the Celts.[243] A review of one hundred and fifty items of Celtic art, weaponry, stonework and votive skeletal remains showed that by far the most common was the horse; horses were depicted in two scenarios, firstly in warfare as cavalry or with chariots and secondly, for hunting. Birds featured heavily with the most common being the raven. Of the next four animals, the dog, the boar, the stag and the bull were all similar in the volume of their representation. The dog was always next to a human figure and the boars and stags were always being hunted. Of the remaining animals, snakes and fish were about equal but only figured on Pictish symbol stones, and wolves, sheep, a bear and a pig were never the main focus of an image. [244]

The 'Stanwick Horse Mask is a small bronze model of a horse's head [was part of] a ritual hoard outside of the royal centre of Stanwick. It is not a solid object, but in fact a thin sheet of bronze. Close examination of the horse's head shows that the head was probably attached to a wooden bucket [very ornate, intricate drinking vessels], [as] this would have been of the same shape and size

[241] Delaney also believes that 'the bull defended the herds from rustlers and thereby became a god of battle, since most warfare originated in search and defence of property, including sources of food.' See F. Delaney, *The Celts* (London: Guild Publishing, 1986), p.85

[242] Strabo noted that Celtic Britain exported dogs 'bred specifically for hunting' in H.L. Jones, *The Geography of Strabo II* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1923), p.243

[243] See Appendix I.

[244] The wolf was usually shown on the outskirts of an image looking in but this might be how the Celts viewed the wolf.

as the buckets found in Iron Age graves at Aylesford and Alkham in Kent.[245] Fields claims there is a 'tension between reality and fantasy that characterizes all Celtic art'[246] and if that is the case, this coin (below) would be a perfect example. The horse takes centre stage but drawn as a series of lines rather than the body being beaten out as one shape.

So much horse symbolism indicates that these items would have been used by warriors who had adopted the animal as their totem, thus invoking the protection of Epona, the horse goddess. It is interesting to note at this point the first legionary standards to be used by Rome in the days of the Republic; each legion had carried five standards, an eagle, horse, bull, wolf and boar[247] until Marius gave each legion a single silver eagle as its standard.[248] There is an overlap in the revered animals; the horse, the bull and the boar are common to both cultures.[249] It is possible that when Rome was in its infancy as a power it had the same thought processes and influences as the Celts but as Rome's power spread and became more and more inspired by Greece her belief system changed to be more akin to the great Greek civilizations rather than the more rustic Celtic civilizations.[250] For all the similarities of the Romans and Celts no issue is more contentious than that of agriculturalist or pastoralist. As Rome saw it; 'of all pursuits by which men gain their livelihood none is better than agriculture. Farming is the most pleasant livelihood, the most fruitful and the one most worthy of a

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245 http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/pe_prb/b/bronze_model_of_a_horses_head.aspx - accessed 26th April 2012.

246 N. Fields, *Boudicca's Rebellion AD 60-61* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing Ltd, 2011), p.13

247 Pliny the Elder X, 16 in J.F Healy, *Natural History: A Selection* (London: Penguin Classics, 1991), p.143

248 Cicero in F.R Cowell, *Cicero and the Roman Republic* (Harmondsworth: Pelican Books, 1964), p.49

249 The bull was a common animal for sacrifice according to Dionysius, I, 88, 2-89 in E. Cary, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus I* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1937), p.385

250 Vegetius claims it was not a bull but a minotaur, representing a general's need to be covert regarding his battle plans - Vegetius III, 6 in N.P. Milner (ed), *Vegetius – Epitome of Military Science* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2001), p.74

free man'[251] and that 'the army [wa]s, with farming, our largest single industry.'[252] Agriculture was viewed as a symbol of civilization and indeed Roman civilization 'because farming was originally the source of Rome's wealth, the Temple of Saturn also doubles as the Roman Treasury: the *Aerarium Populi Romani*'.[253] Thus the observation of Caesar on southern Britain: 'most of those inhabiting the interior do not grow corn, but live instead on milk and meat and clothe themselves in skins'[254] and Dio on northern Briton '[Caledonians and Maeatae] inhabit wild and waterless mountains and desolate marshy plains, and possess neither walls nor cities nor farms, instead they live on their flocks, on game and on certain fruits, and though there are vast and limitless stocks of fish they do not eat them'[255] must be viewed as unjust. 'Britain [was and] is huge and fertile with those things that benefit cattle rather than men.'[256] But it would appear that 'it suited the Roman mental model of progressive barbarism as one moved away from civilized lands, that one should successively encounter people who practiced less advanced economies'[257] hence the comment 'they are unskilled in horticulture or farming in general.'[258]

[251] Cicero I, 42 in M. Winterbottom, *Cicero – De Officiis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press,, 1994), p.18

[252] Cicero in F.R. Cowell, *Cicero and the Roman Republic* (Harmondsworth: Pelican Books, 1964), p.45

[253] P. Matyszak, *Ancient Rome On Five Denarii A Day* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007), p.101 & Dionysius states that Saturn was sacred because ' he oversaw the growing of fruits, grains and animals' (I, 38) in E. Cary, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1937), p.121

[254] Julius Caesar, Gallic War V, 14 in H.J. Edwards, *Caesar – The Gallic War* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1917), p.253 & another reference to the barbarous custom of using animal skin as clothing.

[255] Dio Cassius LXXVI, 12, 1-5 in E. Cary, *Dio's Roman History* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1968), p.83-91 & the regular occurrence of fish on Pictish symbol stones may suggest the importance of fish to ancient Pictish life.

[256] Pomponius Mela, De Chorographia III, 6, 50 in S. Ireland, *A Roman Britain Sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 1998), p.226

[257] D. Mattingley, *An Imperial Possession – Britain in the Roman Empire* (London: Penguin Books, 2007), p.50

[258] Strabo IV, 5, 2 in H.L. Jones, *The Geography of Strabo* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1923),p. 249

Konstam argues that for the Celts 'much of the Celtic belief system was based on the annual cycle of seasons, harvests, and movements of the sun, since it was an agrarian society.'[259] As farming societies they would have respected some animals for their usefulness; the Celts for example, honoured the horse and the dog, but also as farmers they would have had a fear of certain animals such as the lion, the wolf or the bear. This could explain why Roman standard-bearers and trumpeters wore the skins of lions, wolves and bears – an agrarian society projecting its cultural and historically feared beasts onto Rome's enemies. So Boudicca's comment 'so let us go against them placing our trust in good fortune; let us show them that they are hares and foxes attempting to rule over dogs and wolves'[260] is more a Roman view than a Celtic one. This duality of religious and ritualistic existence bound the Celtic warrior to both the real world and the otherworld, diminishing his fear of death. Stephen Allen explains:

'The everyday world of men and the Otherworld of the gods and the dead existed side by side. The line dividing one from the other was often blurred and ill-defined. Neither was there any firm boundary between human and animal form.'[261]

SHIELD EMBLEMS

For the Romans, as already discussed, the uniform and the standards carried by the standard-bearers of the legions give a great amount of reasonable information as to inspirations and

[259] A. Konstam, *Historical Atlas of the Celtic World* (London: Mercury Books, 2003), p.51

[260] Dio Cassius, Epitome, LXII, 5 in E. Cary (ed), *Dio's Roman History* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1968), p.91

[261] S. Allen, *Celtic Warrior 300 BC-AD 100* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing Ltd, 2010), p.19 – the communicator between these two worlds would have been the druids.

motivations for Roman thinking, but another area of immense research value is the study of the shield emblems of the legions themselves. Vegetius says:

'To prevent soldiers straying from their comrades at any time in the confusion of battle, they painted different signs for different cohorts on the shields, designs as they call them. Also each soldier was inscribed in letters on the face of his shield, with a note of which cohort or century he was from.'[262]

There are two main themes on Roman legionary shields; gods and animals.[263] This reflects the reverence the Romans held for the animals they came across in life, the animals that were tied into the idea of Empire and the gods they worshipped and the mythology that their gods were involved with.

SHIELD ICONOGRAPHY INTERPRETATION

The mythical centaurs fought with the early Romans, Pegasus of old Greek legend was a magical horse that could fly, griffins were half-lion, half-eagle (the greatest animal and the greatest bird), the Gorgon's (Medusa) head could turn a man into stone and was tied into the story of Pegasus through the Perseus legend. Hercules was also a mythic being – son of Jupiter himself and a mortal woman he was supposed to have had superhuman strength. The Scorpion emblem was used by the Imperial Singularian Horse who were an elite mounted Guard unit for the Emperor, and their scorpion emblem is 'possibly related [again] to Greek legend where a scorpion caused the horses of the Sun to bolt when the Sun's chariot was being driven for a day by the inexperienced youth Phaeton'[264] but as so much of the information about the Ancient world is open to interpretation many academics

[262] Vegetius II, 18 in N.P. Milner (ed), *Vegetius: Epitome of Military Science* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2001), p.50

[263] See Appendix II for a table of results

[264] S. Dando-Collins, *Legions of Rome – The Definitive History of Every Roman Legion* (London: Quercus, 2010), p. 197

differ in their approaches. Philip Matyszak proposes that 'the Praetorians' highly appropriate insignia was a scorpion, because they were organized into their present [AD 200] form by the emperor Tiberius, who was a Scorpio (the Romans pay great attention to their horoscopes).'[265]

Of the animal iconography used, the obvious link is strength; looking at the animals pictured – boars, bulls, elephants, lions and the wolf. These are all powerful, strong animals. Cicero remarked 'I do not miss the powers of youth any more than when I was young I felt the lack of a bull's strength or an elephant's'[266] suggesting these were common animals to be associated with strength. The wolf is also very important in the folklore of Rome. It was a wolf which cared for the young Romulus and Remus, the founders of Rome and thus an animal that represented Rome and thus a worthy skin to wear as a Standard Bearer.[267] As the Romans' own myths concerning their origins were dominated by tales of war tinged with savagery; Romulus and Remus, the twin sons of the war god Mars, were suckled by a she-wolf and as adults gathered a warrior band which supported itself by raiding.[268] Thus the early experience of Rome was a story of heroism in war and prevailing against the odds and the wolf was sacred to Mars.[269]

The bull is the most common animal followed by the wild boar – there could be two reasons for this; firstly the religious significance of these animals to the Romans and perhaps even the mythical status they had in Roman and Celtic existences, and secondly, because potentially, most men raised in Europe would be very familiar with these two animals. Very few would have seen an elephant and this idea might relate to where particular legions were recruited and their sense of corporate

[265] P. Matyszak, *Ancient Rome On Five Denarii a Day* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007), p.71

[266] Cicero VII, 3 in M. Grant, *Cicero – Selected Works* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1960), p.223

[267] Livy X, 23.5 in B. Radice, *Livy – Rome and Italy* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1982), p.320

[268] A. Goldsworthy, *Roman Warfare* (London: Phoenix Books, 2007), p.32

[269] And the woodpecker which fed Romulus and Remus, while the she-wolf suckled them - Plutarch, *Life of Romulus*, 4 in B. Perrin, *Plutarch's Lives* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1914), p.99

identity. Examples of this would be the 7th Gemina and 9th Hispania who recruited in Spain and used the bull emblem, and 16th Gallica and 21st Rapax who recruited in Gaul used the boar emblem which as Strabo described was a country that 'had large, fierce pigs that attacked people.'[270] This is interesting because 'the Celts used the boar symbol to ward off evil, and the boar appears on Celtic helmet crests and shield decorations.'[271] These animals are more than a mascot, they could be viewed as a representation of the countries of recruitment and the men that served in the legions or their battle honours, the elephant could represent North Africa, for example, or, in the case of the Legio V Alaudae, though raised in Gaul, it was given the Elephant emblem after their bravery in facing an elephant charge at the Battle of Thapsus in 46BC in North Africa.[272]

The significance of the boar [for Romans] is less certain, but it was perhaps originally the symbol of Quirinus, the Sabine equivalent of Mars, who had continued to have a special cult existence in Rome after the amalgamation of the two founding communities around 600BC.[273] To the Celtic warrior, the boar might have symbolized power, strength and courage and hunting it was a sign of bravery as seen earlier with the tusk pendant in the British Museum.

There are two Roman gods that have been used; Jupiter, the king of the gods and whose symbols were the thunderbolt and the eagle, and Neptune, King of the Sea. It is interesting there is no Pluto emblem utilised, however, as Pluto is the King of the Underworld, possibly it might have been

[270] Strabo IV, 3 in H.L. Jones, *The Geography of Strabo IV* (William Heinemann Ltd, 1923), p.243 & Strabo mentions the dangerous Gallic wolf as well.

[271] S. Dando-Collins, *Legions of Rome – The Definitive History of Every Roman Legion* (London: Quercus, 2010), p. 77

[272] S. Dando-Collins, *Legions of Rome – The Definitive History of Every Roman Legion* (London: Quercus, 2010), p.133

[273] C. McNab (ed), *The Roman Army – The Greatest War Machine of the Ancient World* (Oxford: Osprey Publisng Ltd, 2010), p.28

viewed as unlucky, considering how superstitious Roman soldiers were;[274] Dio gives us evidence of this when he describes the Roman army's voyage to Britain, 'on their way across they were at first disheartened by being driven back in their course. Subsequently, though, they recovered their spirits when a bolt of lightning shot from east to west – the direction they were sailing.'[275]

The Stork of the 3rd *Italica* Legion could have held a place in Roman beliefs because it was a newly raised legion and the stork represented 'birth' or possibly because it was raised in the part of Italy where the stork commonly nested, again proving that emblems and iconography reflect local environments. Jupiter was the ultimate power in the Roman belief system, which was derived from the Greek System and it is important to note that the other theme of shield decoration is the use of Greek derivatives – whether they be gods, mythical beasts or heroes. There is one emblem not covered by the above explanations and that is the 'Wheel of Fortune' (15th *Primigeneia*). Strangely the 'Wheel of Fortune' Legion does have an indirect connection to Britain as it was raised for the invasion of the island but never left the shores of Gaul.[276]

Legionaries came to be identified by the numerals or titles of their legion.[277] Identity was enhanced by the veneration of specific emblems, perhaps alluding to founders (the Bull for Caesar's III Gallica, or the Capricorn for Augustus' XIV Gemina), or to their battle honours (the elephant of V Alaudae or the dolphin and warship of X Fretensis).[278] Evidently there is an extensive amount of interpretations.

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[274] Another example of Roman superstition regards the destruction of Colchester by Boudicca: 'The statue of Victory at Camulodunum (Colchester) fell down for no apparent reason, and with its back turned as if it were fleeing the enemy. In addition, frenzied women prophesised that destruction was at hand' - Tacitus, Annals XIV, 32 in C.H. Moore, *Tacitus Annals* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1966), p.159

[275] Dio Cassius, LX, 19 in E. Cary (ed), *Dio's Roman History* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1968), p.119

[276] Before Claudius' invasion Caligula planned his own, however, in the throes of insanity, he ordered the army to fire their catapults into the English Channel and collect seashells in the helmets as war trophies – see Dio Cassius LIX, 25, 1-3 in E. Cary, *Dio's Roman History* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1968), p.117.

[277] Tacitus II, 43 in K. Wellesley, *Tacitus – The Histories* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1975), p.42

[278] C. McNab (ed), *The Roman Army – The Greatest War Machine of the Ancient World* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing Ltd, 2010), p.154

Of course the most practical purpose of these shield emblems was identification. Rome's civil wars meant that thousands of men under command on either side all in similar armour carrying similar equipment meant the most easily identifiable object would be the *scutum* (more so than the standard if one was a commander not in the immediate vicinity of the legionaries).[279] The Celts themselves decorated their shields with emblems, 'enamelling produced animal faces, especially on shield bosses,'[280] Diodorus Siculus says:

'Their arms include man-sized shields decorated according to individual taste. Some of these have projecting figures in bronze skilfully made not only for decoration but also for protection. In some cases horns are attached, in others the foreparts of birds and four-footed beasts.'[281]

It is almost certain that most shields, were decorated with animal, geometric or symbolic emblems, which were painted carefully in polychromatic schemes [various shades of different colours][282] emphasising the centrality of animal iconography.

Another area of comparison, partly because it is based around Celts and Roman auxiliaries is that of the auxiliary banner; 'auxiliary standards seem in general to have followed the patterns of those used by legionaries, but by the end of the 2nd Century AD another type had been taken up by some cavalry units for use in parades and possibly combat, this was the dragon or *draco*,'[283] a bronze animal head with an open mouth and neck to which was attached a multi-coloured tube of material.

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[279] Tacitus tells how two legionaries crossed a battlefield and destroyed a enemy catapult during a civil war, he says 'they concealed their identity by catching up shields from the fallen' in III, 23 – K. Wellesley, *Tacitus – The Histories* (Harmondsworth: Penguin classics, 1964), p.159

[280] J. Alcock, *Life in Roman Britain* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1996), p.105 & Diordorus Siculus says 'animals were embossed on shields' (V, 30) in C.H. Oldfather (ed), *Diodorus Siculus* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1939), p.175

[281] Diodorus Siculus V, 30 in C.H. Oldfather (ed), *Diodorus Siculus* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1939), p.175

[282] P. Wilcox, *Rome's Enemies (2) Gallic & British Celts* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2009), p.19

[283] As mentioned by Vegetius on p.30

'When the standard-bearer moved quickly, the tube of material acted like a wind-sock, streaming behind the head and making a whistling sound. These standards seem to have been copied from some of Rome's opponents on the Danubian frontier and are depicted on Trajan's Column flying over the enemy armies.'[284] There are strong similarities with the Celtic war horn, the Carnyx, 'a long horn with a head and mouth in the form of an animal, often that of a wild boar'[285] as Diodorus Siculus observes: 'their trumpets are a peculiar kind: they blow into them and produce a harsh sound that suits the tumult of war.'[286]

CONCLUSION

Both Celt and Roman altered and used their bodies in a number of ways. The Celts used woad as a form of 'war paint', they often fought naked to show off their masculinity and cut off the heads of

[284] Most notably the nomadic Sarmatians – see A. Goldsworthy, *The Complete Roman Army* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007), p.134

[285] S. Allen, *Celtic Warrior – 300 BC-AD 100* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing Ltd, 2010), p.28

[286] Diodorus Siculus V, 30 in C.H. Oldfather (ed), *Diodorus Siculus* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1939), p.175

their enemies as trophies; their individual body alteration and enhancement was an expression of social and cultural identity. Their religious beliefs meant they did not fear harm to their bodies as they were not afraid of death, but by taking the head of any enemy they invoked fear in others and also possessed an enemy's soul. The Celts' great reverence for animals was reflected in the tattoos they got on their bodies, the images they used to decorate their shields and the bones they used to adorn helmets and armour and their battle standards. It was also reflected in Celtic art, such as stonework and metalwork.

The Romans were arguably an evolved version of the Celts. Though the Romans did not practice tattooing (apart from to identify themselves as a legionary as previously mentioned) they too deemed identification and intimidation to be very important, and gained strength from religion and animal iconography. The theme of animal skins and appearance-altering armour suggests an attempt at elevating the soldiers from mere men to beasts or gods. The Romans were influenced by natural and religious factors but also by the people they brought within the Empire; the huge military presence in Britain included 'not only men from Italy and the more Romanized provinces of the empire but also auxiliaries from Gaul, Spain, Batavia, Thrace, the German frontier regions, North Africa and the Near East.'[287] Thus the important issues of life were affected by a multitude of opinions and influences. The legionary existed within his century, his cohort, his legion, and the Empire; and their pride and self-respect lay in their unit, it was their paramount motivation, the bedrock of whom they were; financially-disadvantaged people given a purpose, so the Romans honoured the Eagle and the animals that made up their emblems.

There seems to have been a closeness of ideas between Roman and Celt but possibly a faster evolution for Rome meant that in terms of military technology and civic architecture, they advanced quicker and became the established power. But notably 'until the sixth century BC, the tribes of

[287] J. Alcock, *Life in Roman Britain* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1996), p.17

mainland Italy were influenced more by the Celtic Halstatt culture to the north, than by the Greeks to the south, and Celtic influence is observable throughout Roman military history.[288] What pervaded Roman life from the Greek arena was the Greek pantheon of gods and Roman soldiers took these gods with them around the Empire and merged them with local deities thus bastardizing and diluting their original identities. The Romans took what they thought worked and developed it yet further. As Allen implies 'the Romans, who made the art of war into a science, paid the Celtic warrior the ultimate accolade by adopting his mail armour, his helmet design and his cavalry saddle.'[289] Thus the Roman capacity for improvement meant that they gleaned ideas from the Celts, and eventually they turned this knowledge around and defeated the innovators. Whereas a British Celt covered his body in images a Roman covered his equipment. The legion represented a self-contained tribe and as such 'warfare conformed closely with the tribal model, and there is evidence of an elite order of champions and warrior-priests dedicated to the war god, Mars, the father of Romulus and Remus, who were the mythical founders of Rome.'[290]

This was not a conflict of distinctly different cultures; what influenced each society was similar, they were both militaristic and agrarian societies that over time began to merge into a Romano-Celtic amalgam (obviously with extremes on both sides) which took the best parts of both Roman and Celtic knowledge. However, there was a central martial belief, that one should alter one's body for identification, intimidation, religion and superstition, and mythology and animal reverence.

[288] S. Anglim, P.G. Jestice, R.S. Rice, S.M. Rusch & J. Serrati, *Fighting Techniques of the Ancient World 3000 BC – 500 AD* (New York: St Martin's Press, 2002), p.41

[289] S. Allen, *Lords of Battle – The World of the Celtic Warrior* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing Ltd,), p.211

[290] S. Anglim, P.G. Jestice, R.S. Rice, S.M. Rusch & J. Serrati, *Fighting Techniques of the Ancient World 3000 BC – AD 500* (New York: St Martin's Press, 2002), p.41 & see Appendix III.

APENDICES

APPENDIX I

Table 1 of 181 animal depictions on images collated from books on the Celts. These animal depictions were on Celtic stonework such as statues and carvings, and coins, models, weaponry and archaeological skeletal finds such as burials (no image was used twice, this study consists of 181 different depictions).

TYPE OF ANIMAL	**AMOUNT OF DEPECTIONS**
Horse	56
Bird	24
Dog	20
Boar	19
Stag	15
Bull	13
Snake	12
Fish	11
Wolf	6
Ram/sheep	3
Bear	1
Pig	1
TOTAL	**181**

IMAGES TAKEN FROM:

Allen, S., *Celtic Warrior 300BC-AD100* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing Ltd, 2010).

p.16 Horse

p.16 Boar

p.17 Horse

p.21 Horse

p.23 Boar

p.30 Boar

p.32 Horse

Cunliffe, B., *The Ancient Celts* (London: Penguin Books, 1997).

p.37 Horse

p.70 Horse

p.84 Boar

p.84 Boar

p.98 Bird

p.99 Bird

p.99 Boar

p.100 Horse

p.111 Dog

p.117 Dog

p.117 Wolf

p.131 Horse

p.196 Bird

p.197 Horse

p.197 Dog

p.201 Stag

p.202 Horse

p.245 Stag

Cunliffe, B., *Iron Age Communities in Britain* (London: Routledge, 2002, 3rd Edition).

p.130 Horse

p.130 Horse

p.135 Boar

p.143 Horse

p.196 Boar

p.196 Horse

p.532 Horse

p.532 Boar

p.532 Bird (Eagle)

p.540 Horse

p.540 Horse

Cunliffe, B & Koch, J.T (eds) *Celtic from the West* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2011).

p.217 Horse

p.217 Horse

Collins, J., *The Celts – Origins, Myths, Inventions* (Stroud: Tempus, 2006).

p.76 Horse

p.76 Horse

Ellis, P.B., *The Celts* (London: Robinson, 2003).

p.77 Horse

p.140 Dog

p.140 Bird (Duck)

p.140 Wolf

p.140 Boar

p.140 Stag

Fraser, I (ed)., *The Pictish Symbol Stones of Scotland* (Edinburgh: RCAHMS, 2008).

(no images/depictions were used post the introduction of Christianity)

p.2 Horse

p.2 Bull

p.5 Snake

p.8 Bird (Raven)

p.19 Snake

p.21 Fish

p.23 Horse

p.23 Dog

p.23 Boar

p.25 Bird (Raven)

p.27 Horse

p.27 Fish

p.28 Fish

p.33 Horse

p.34 Wolf

p.37 Fish

p.38 Fish

p.42 Bird (Goose)

p.42 Bird (Eagle)

p.45 Bird

p.47 Horse

p.48 Horse

p.51 Horse

p.51 Snake

p.51 Horse

p.51 Bull

p.51 Dog

p.52 Stag

p.52 Wolf

p.52 Dog

p.52 Bull

p.52 Horse

p.54 Snake

p.55 Snake

p.55 Fish

p.55 Horse

p.56 Horse

p.56 Stag

p.56 Dog

p.57 Stag

p.57 Bird

p.57 Dog

p.57 Horse

p.57 Dog

p.57 Stag

p.58 Bird

p.59 Dog

p.59 Stag

p.59 Bear

p.59 Stag

p.59 Bird

p.59 Boar

p.59 Snake

p.59 Snake

p.59 Bird

p.63 Horse

p.63 Stag

p.63 Dog

p.63 Bull

p.63 Horse

p.63 Dog

p.63 Snake

p.64 Boar

p.69 Horse

p.73 Fish

p.75 Stag

p.77 Bird

p.79 Fish

p.79 Wolf

p.79 Dog

p.79 Horse

p.79 Snake

p.82 Boar

p.83 Snake

p.84 Bull

p.85 Boar

p.89 Bird

p.89 Fish

p.89 Horse

p.89 Dog

p.89 Stag

p.90 Horse

p.90 Dog

p.90 Stag

p.90 Sheep

p.90 Dog

p.90 Bird

p.90 Stag

p.93 Boar

p.93 Sheep

p.93 Dog

p.93 Horse

p.93 Stag

p.93 Bird

p.94 Bird

p.94 Wolf

p.99 Snake

p.99 Snake

p.99 Fish

p.99 Dog

p.103 Bird

p.105 Bull

p.108 Fish

Green, M.J., 'Crossing the Boundaries: Triple Horns and Emblematic Transference', *European Journal of Archaeology* Vol.1 (2) (1998), pp.219-240

p.220 Bull

p.221 Horse

p.221 Horse

p.224 Boar

p.224 Boar

p.225 Horse

p.235 Bull

Haywood, J., *The Celts – Bronze Age to New Age* (London: Pearson Longman, 2004).

p.43 Dog

p.43 Horse

p.86 Horse

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p.27 Horse

p.55 Boar

p.95 Bull

p.103 Bull

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p.150 Bird

p.150 Horse

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p.203 Ram

p.203 Bull

p.203 Bird

p.203 Horse

p.203 Bull

p.203 Bull

p.203 Horse (dedicated to Epona, the Horse Goddess)

p.203 Pig

p.203 Horse

p.203 Horse

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p.36 Horse

p.36 Horse

p.52 Horse

p.52 Horse

p.488 Bird

APPENDIX II

Table 2: Table displaying the iconography utilized by the Romans to decorate their shields (compiled from the findings of Stephen Dando-Collins[291]).

SHIELD EMBLEMS	NUMBER OF LEGIONS	NECESSARY FURTHER DESCRIPTION/EXPLANATION
SCORPION	1	Praetorian Guard
WILD BOARS	7	
LIONS	5	
WOLVES	1	Looking after Romulus and Remus
BULLS	12	
ELEPHANTS	1	
GRIFFIN	1*	
PEGASUS	3	Flying Horse
GORGON'S HEAD	1	Female head with snakes instead of hair.
CENTAURS	3	Top half of a man, lower half of a horse.
EAGLE	3	
STORKS	1	A sacred bird for the Romans
JUPITER	1	King of the gods
THUNDERBOLTS WITH EXTRAS	3	Hercules Hammer Featured extensively on Trajan's Column
NEPTUNE	2	King of the sea
WHEEL OF FORTUNE	1	
PALM (OF VICTORY)	1	

*later became the legion which used the Palm branch so 46 or 47 Legions.

SHIELD EMBLEMS (for pictures see S. Dando-Collins, *Legions of Rome*, p.305)

1st Adiutrix = Pegasus

1st Germanica = Pompey's Lion holding a sword

1st Italica = 1 Boar

1st Minervia = Gorgon's Head

1st Parthica = 1 Centaur

[291] S. Dando-Collins., *Legions of Rome – The Definitive History of Every Roman Legion* (London: Quercus, 2010), p.1-4 of the illustration pages.

2nd Adiutrix = 1 Pegasus

2nd Augusta = 1 Pegasus

2nd Italica = 1 She-wolf + Twins

2nd Parthica = 1 Centaur

2nd Traiana = Hercules Hammer + a thunderbolt

3rd Augusta = 1 Lion

3rd Cyrenaica = Jupiter

3rd Gallica = 3 Bulls

3rd Italica = 3 Storks

3rd Parthica = 1 Centaur

4th Macedonica = 1 Bull

4th Flavian = 1 Lion

4th Scythica = 1 Bull

5th Alaudae = 5 Elephants

5th Macedonica = 1 Bull

6th Ferrata = 1 Bull

6th Victrix = 1 Bull

7th Claudia = 1 Bull

7th Gemina = 1 Bull

8th Augusta = 1 Bull

9th Hispana = 1 Bull

10th Gemina = 1 Bull

10th Fretensis = 1 Bull and a Galley

11th Claudia = Neptune's Tridents and Thunderbolts

12th Fulminata = Thunderbolt

13th Gemina = 1 Lion

14th Gemina = Eagle's wings and thunderbolts

15th Appolinaris = Originally a Griffin but by 3rd Century it was a Palm branch

15th Primigeneia = Wheel of Fortune

16th Gallica = 1 Boar

16th Flavia = 1 Lion

17th = 1 Boar

18th = 1 Boar

19th = 1 Boar

20th Valeria = 1 Boar

21st Rapax = 2 Boars

22nd Deiotariana = 1 Eagle

22nd Primigeneia Pia Fidelis = 1 Eagle

30th Ulpia = Neptune's Trident, dolphin and thunderbolts

Praetorian Guard = Thunderbolts

The Imperial Singularium Horse = Scorpions

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http://www.cabinetdesmedailles.net/Association_pour_le_Cabinet_des_medailles/Accueil.html

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